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THE BOOK OF PARADISE.

VOLUME I.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

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LADY MEUX MANUSCRIPT NO. 6.

THE BOOK OF PARADISE

BEING

THE HISTORIES AND SAYINGS OF THE MONKS

AND

ASCETICS OF THE EGYPTIAN DESERT

BY

PALLADIUS, HIERONYMUS

AND OTHERS.

THE SYRIAC TEXTS, ACCORDING TO THE
RECENSION OF 'ANÂN-ÎSHÔ' OF BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ, EDITED

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

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IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

IN the year 1888 I was engaged at MÔŞUL, a town on the right or west bank of the river TIGRIS, opposite to the ruins of the ancient city of NINEVEH, in carrying on excavations for the Trustees of the British Museum in the neighbouring mound of KÛYUNJIK, and in the performance of my official duties I was brought into contact with His Excellency the Wâli, or Governor, of Môşul, and with many of the principal ecclesiastical authorities of the town and of the villages round about. Whenever the opportunity offered I made enquiries about manuscript copies of ancient Syriac books in which I was interested, and I visited various churches and monasteries where I heard that old Syriac MSS. were to be found. In Môşul itself some private individuals courteously showed me such manuscripts as they had, but the suggestion that I should purchase the same met with firm refusals on the part of their true owners; the further proposition on my part to have copies made at my expense was received with a series of politely given refusals, which all who have dealt with the Mesopotamian Oriental will readily understand. I paid a visit to the Jacobite Patriarch in his beautiful house, and asked for help, but failed to receive any. The venerable Patriarch gave me an account of his journey to England, and described at

some length his visit to Windsor Castle, and the gracious manner in which he had been received and treated by Her Majesty QUEEN VICTORIA, and, pointing to some of the furniture in his room, he assured me that he had profited by the example set by the English in providing themselves with comfortable homes. He next commented, in English, for he spoke the language fairly well, on the wickedness of those of the faithful who sold their manuscripts, and then assured me that he had neither manuscripts nor money. The visit was interesting, but, so far as my own object was concerned, it had no practical result.

A few days later I paid a visit to the Vicar of the Nestorian, or "Chaldean", Patriarch, who received me cordially, and was undoubtedly anxious to assist me by every means in his power. His protestations of friendship soon assumed a practical form, for, having told me that he had a number of valuable Syriac MSS. in his house, and could obtain access to others, he produced without delay several dusty, manuscript volumes. Among those which were brought and placed on the floor before us was a very thick book, in a dilapidated condition, which the Vicar said he prized highly, as it was the only old copy of it known to him. The size of the book was large, oblong quarto, about 15in. by 9in., and it was three or four inches thick; though many of the leaves at the beginning and end were loose, it appeared to be complete, and only after a close examination of it did I find that it was not so. Leaves were missing in several places, three or more quires were wanting about two thirds of the way through the volume, and many leaves were so much damaged in places by damp that words and

even whole lines could hardly be read. In spite of such defects, however, there was no doubt in my mind that the manuscript was of considerable importance, especially when I found from the headings of certain sections that it contained the "Book of the histories of the 'triumphs of the saints and ascetics of the Egyptian 'Desert, called 'Paradise' which was composed by MÂR 'PALLADIUS, Bishop of the city of HELENOPOLIS, and was "addressed to LAUSUS the Prefect." I was familiar with the Syriac MSS. of Palladius in the British Museum, but I had never before seen so lengthy a copy of the "Paradise of the Fathers", and it was clear that the volume must contain copies of *collections of lives of saints*, which some pious man had paid to have copied, for his private benefit, or for the use of the members of a church or monastery. The next point to try and decide was the date of the manuscript. This was no easy matter, for the colophon was missing, and the Patriarch's Library possessed none of the European palaeographical publications which are so essential for making satisfactory comparisons of the text with dated manuscripts, and for the correct assignment of dates. The "Paradise" of PALLADIUS which we had before us was identical in size and shape with another volume there containing a copy of the "HÛDHRA", *i. e.*, the service book of the Nestorian Church for the whole year, which was compiled by the famous monk 'ANÂN-ÎSHÔ', of the Monastery of BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ in Margâ. This volume was in good condition. The pages, though in places stained by water, were clean, and the writing was in the good hand which the late Professor WILLIAM WRIGHT associated with the XIIth century. Now whether the "Book of Paradise" and this copy of the "HÛdhra"

were written at the same time, I cannot say, but the handwriting of the former work appeared to me to be more modern than that of the latter. I told Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER (see *Lausiac History*, p. 83) that I thought it was characteristic of the XIVth or XVth century, and it may well be so; on the other hand, it may have been a century older. Such ludicrous dates have been assigned to Syriac and Ethiopic MSS. during the last thirty years, that it seemed to me better to err on the side of under-dating than over-dating, and in so doing I followed the example of my great master WILLIAM WRIGHT.

Now, although the age of the Book of Paradise which the Vicar of the "Chaldean" Patriarch showed me in 1888 puzzled me as much then as it does now, it seemed to be necessary to obtain as good a copy of it as possible, and I opened negotiations with this object in view, for as the volume before me was the property of the Church it was hopeless to attempt to purchase it. The Vicar promised to allow a careful scribe to have access to the book, and to supervise the general accuracy of the transcript of it which was to be made; Mr. NIMRÛD RASSAM purchased the paper and had it prepared for writing upon, and the work of copying was begun. The copy was finished in the month of the Latter Teshrin, and I brought it to England in April 1891. On my return to this country I examined this copy of the Book of Paradise carefully in connexion with the MSS. of Palladius in the British Museum, and it seemed to me quite certain that it represented the Recension of the work of Palladius which was made by 'Anân-Îshô', a monk of Bêth 'Âbhê, in the latter half of the VIIth century of our era. An

account of the making of this Recension is, fortunately, preserved to us in the "Historia Monastica" written by THOMAS, Bishop of Margâ, about A.D. 840. According to this writer, 'Anân-Îshô', who was a native of Adiabene, studied at Nisibis, and then entered the "Great Monastery" of Îzlâ, where he devoted himself to literary work. He lived a life of the sternest asceticism, and, "having his mind constantly fixed upon "the works of the ascetic fathers, determined to go and "worship in Jerusalem. And from there he went to "the desert of Scete, where he learned concerning all "the manner of the lives of the ascetic fathers, whose "histories and questions are written in books, and concerning their dwellings, and the places in which they "lived." When Thomas came back from Scete, he did not settle down in Îzlâ, but went on to Bêth Âbhê, in Margâ, where his literary reputation became so great that Îshô'-yahbh, the Metropolitan of Arbela, asked him to assist him in drawing up the Canons. Subsequently, when Îshô'-yahbh became Patriarch, he begged 'Anân-Îshô' to arrange the "Book of the Fathers," that is to say, the histories of the ascetics of the deserts and mountains of Egypt which had been compiled by Palladius and Jerome, and at length he agreed to do so. We need not now consider the details of the arrangement of 'Anân-Îshô's work, and it is sufficient here to mention that Thomas tells us it was "arranged in two "volumes; in the first part were the histories of the holy "Fathers composed by Palladius and Jerome, and in the "second part were the questions and the narratives of "the fathers which he himself had brought together."¹

¹ See my *Book of Governors*, vol. ii. p. 192.

Such a work could not have been entrusted to better hands, for 'Anân-Īshô' possessed not only the literary skill necessary for carrying out successfully such a great undertaking, but having visited Jerusalem, and the Scete desert, and seen the actual places where the desert saints had lived, and having obtained his knowledge at first hand, he was able to impart to his Recension of the Book of the Fathers an accuracy and vividness which, without his local knowledge, would have been absolutely impossible. It is not so stated by Thomas of Margâ, but we are bound to assume that a Syriac scholar, with the energy, and ability, and knowledge of 'Anân-Īshô', would search for, and bring back with him the best and fullest copies he could find of the works of Palladius and Jerome, and transcripts of other works of the same kind. There is no room for doubting that he collected his materials both wisely and skilfully, and for this reason his Recension of the "Book of Paradise" is of the greatest value.

From the copy of 'Anân-Īshô's Recension which I had obtained, I published several extracts in my edition of the "Historia Monastica" of Thomas of Margâ (see *Book of Governors*, vol. ii. p. 31, 32, 35, 64, 195—197, 470—472, 563, 572, 586), and gave a full description of it on pp. 192—206 of the same work. Soon after the appearance of the "Historia Monastica" in the autumn of 1893 I began to translate 'Anân-Īshô's Recension of the "Book of Paradise", and whilst thus occupied I caused many enquiries to be made by my friends at Mōsul and in the neighbourhood, with the view of finding other copies of 'Anân-Īshô's work, from which the lacunae in the text might be filled up; all

such enquiries were fruitless, I regret to say. In 1894, as I learned that Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER was devoting himself to the study of the "Book of Paradise" in all its versions, and that he was, like Dr. ERWIN PREUSCHEN, engaged in the preparation of a work on the subject, and in a minute investigation into the history of the transmission of the versions, I willingly placed my copy of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension at his disposal, and as a testimony to the value of the manuscript I quote his words. He says, (*Lausiac History*, Cambridge 1898, p. 77) "If it is possible to make here a more careful study than has hitherto been made of the Lausiac History in Syriac, and to clear up some confusions and misconceptions, this will be mainly due to the kindness of Dr. Budge, . . . who placed at my disposal his fine codex of the *Paradise* of Anan-Isho, described in his edition of Thomas of Marga's *Book of the Governors*." He then goes on to compare its contents with those of the only other ancient copy in Europe, which is preserved in the Library of the Vatican (*Codex Syriacus* cxxvi), and discusses its relative value at considerable length. He decided that 'Ānân-Īshō made use of an ancient Syriac version which Dom BUTLER calls No. 1, and that he filled up the gaps, which existed in the copies of it current in his time, from a manuscript of Syriac version No. 2, which was contemporaneous with No. 1; this being so the Recension of 'Anân-Īshō will help us to reconstruct in its main features the Syriac version of the Lausiac History, as it existed in the early part of the VIth, if not the Vth century.

In 1896 I received an application for the loan of my copy of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension from Père BEDJAN

who was said to be preparing an edition of the Syriac text of the "Book of Paradise", but I did not see my way to lend it because I was translating it into English and preparing an edition of the text myself. Further, there seemed to me to be need for an English translation of the Syriac text of the work attributed to Palladius. It is hard not to think that, had Père BEDJAN known of the existence of a copy of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension of the works of Palladius and Jerome before the publication of my description of it in the "Historia Monastica", he would naturally have made an edition of it for the first volume of his *Acta Sanctorum*, instead of reprinting a number of texts which had been published by CURETON and other scholars.

Père BEDJAN's edition appeared in 1897, but an examination of it convinced me that there was still room for a publication of the text of Anân-Īshō's Recension, and I continued my work of copying and translating. That year, however, my official duties took me to the Sûdân, and I was excavating there for several months; on my return to England early in 1898 I had to undergo an operation on one eye for glaucoma, and I was forbidden by the oculist to work more than was absolutely necessary at Oriental languages for some time. The prohibition was imperative, and I reluctantly abandoned my work on the Book of Paradise, and begged LADY MEUX, of Theobalds Park, whose interest in all that appertains to early Egyptian and Ethiopian Christianity is well known, to accept my codex of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension, and to let it form a part of her collection of Oriental MSS.

Subsequently LADY MEUX began to make enquiries concerning the contents of the Book of Paradise, and

we had several conversations on the subject, and finding that no complete translation of the Book of Paradise existed in any modern language she, with characteristic generosity, offered to defray the cost of printing the entire Syriac text, provided that it was accompanied by a full English translation, and a brief account of the origin of the Syriac version, and of the growth of Christian asceticism in Egypt. Every one knows that the true home of Christian asceticism and monasticism was Egypt, and that the monks, and recluses, and anchorites of Syria and Mesopotamia only imitated the stern lives of their predecessors in the desert of Scete in the Western Delta, and in the mountains of the Thebaïd in Upper Egypt; and everyone knows that the oldest, fullest, and truest account of the holy ascetics of Egypt was written by Palladius. This distinguished man was no mere compiler of the lives of saints from histories written by other men, but he possessed a personal knowledge of the Egyptian monks and their lives which is unique. At the age of 20 he embraced the monastic life, and going to Alexandria in 388 he studied for three years under the direction of the strictest ascetics of the day; he next lived with monks in the Nitrian desert for a year, and about 391 he retired into the "inner desert", and took up his abode in the very centre of the monastic life, in a place called "The Cells". Here he lived for nine years, and here he met and conversed with the greatest ascetics of his day, and became acquainted with solitary monks of every class. In 404 or 405 he went to Rome, and during his stay there he visited the monks who lived near the city and in Campagna. At a later period he was banished to Syene [the modern Aswân) and

still later to the Thebaïd, where, however, he turned his time to good account by living among the monks in Antinoopolis; subsequently he went to Palestine and lived for some time among the monks on the Mount of Olives. In 420 he wrote his famous "Book of Paradise", which he dedicated to LAUSUS, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II, and which, in consequence, is generally known as the "Historia Lausiaca", or "Lausiak History". In this work he records the lives of the ascetics whom he had known personally, or of whom he had gained knowledge from their disciples, and his narratives are written with a minuteness of detail which makes it clear to every unprejudiced reader that he actually saw and talked with the greater number of the men whom he mentions, and that he visited the places which he describes. On the other hand, as Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER points out, (*Lausiak History*, p. 3) Dr. WEINGARTEN regards the "Book of Paradise" and the "History of the Monks" as mere fairy tales which deserve no more credit than Gulliver's Travels; and Dr. LUCIUS considers Palladius to be a "monkish falsifier of history", and his book an "uncritical patchwork put together from several different sources." The latter writer thinks, moreover, that Palladius was never a bishop, and that the experiences which he relates are those of other people, and believes that he never was in Egypt. These opinions, however, even though they be those of eminent scholars, have, in my opinion, but little value, for the men who formulated them know nothing of Egypt. Against them must be placed the evidence of a scholar like AMÉLINEAU, who is not only an expert in Coptic, but is one who, as he himself has

told me, has lived in the monasteries of Egypt of the present day, and knows the manners and customs of ascetics, both ancient and modern. This authority believes that Palladius is worthy of credit when he relates what was seen, or heard, or done by himself, and that it is only his hearsay evidence which must be received with caution. In the course of my official work during the last seventeen years I myself have visited many of the larger monasteries in and about Mòsul, and Mardîn, and Al-Ḳôsh, and most of the sites of ancient monasteries on the Nile between Khartûm and the sea, and I am of opinion that the local colouring, and details of the Nile and Egypt generally, as given by Palladius, are accurate. In Mesopotamia I have been taken to see men who were in the habit of fasting for five days or a week at a time, who watched and prayed all night, who saw visions, and who were in every way emulating the labours of Anthony the Great and his predecessor Paul of Egypt.

Whether Palladius is held by a handful of Professors to be a deceiver or not matters, after all, very little, for the fact remains that his work has been received as genuine by Christian ascetics all over Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and the lives and deeds of the saints recorded by him have been imitated by a countless number of monks for a period of fourteen or fifteen hundred years. The influence of his "Book of Paradise" in the Christian East has been incalculably great, and there is good reason for believing that it will emerge triumphant from all the honest criticism that may be made upon it.

The present work contains the whole of the Syriac text of LADY MEUX's manuscript of the Book of Para-

dise according to the Recension of Anân-Īshō, which also includes the lives of the monks written by Jerome and others and about twelve hundred "Sayings" of the Fathers; to all these tolerably literal English translations are appended. That the work may be as complete as possible I have given translations of all the additional Histories and Sayings which Père BEDJAN has printed in the seventh volume of his *Acta Sanctorum*, and in a few places where the Syriac version is of interest, I have reprinted his text. Thus the reader has before him, thanks to LADY MEUX's munificence, a complete English translation of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension of the "Book of Paradise", and I trust that it will be found useful, not only by the theological critic, but also by those who are students of the religion, folklore, magic, and social condition of Egypt in early Christian times. LADY MEUX has printed five hundred copies both of the text and translation, and on my part I have spared no pains to bring this lengthy work of some two thousand pages to as successful a conclusion as possible.

The notes have, from sheer necessity, been made as brief as possible, but Bible references to quotations in the text have been given, in most cases. Any attempt to deal with the original Greek texts was impossible, for such a work would fill a volume by itself, and it must be left to such competent scholars as PREUSCHEN and BUTLER. An index of proper names has been added, which, it is hoped, may facilitate reference. The Nestorian vowel points are, of course, modern, and may for critical purposes be disregarded; they are interesting, however, as showing the class of mistake which modern Nestorians make when reading and

copying ancient works. The Syriac scholar can correct these mistakes for himself, and the general reader need not concern himself about them. The English translation has been made as literal as possible, and all the words supplied by me have been placed in square brackets []; the meaning of some passages in the Syriac text is doubtful, either because the translator from the Greek did not understand his text, or because I have failed to grasp the meaning of his rendering.

It is now my pleasing duty to offer to LADY MEUX my heartfelt thanks for giving to me the opportunity of making the "Book of Paradise" known in an English translation, and for publishing a work which, but for her effective help and sympathy, could never have seen the light in its present form. Mr. DRUGULIN of Leipzig, and Dr. CHAMIZER of his firm, deserve praise for the great care and attention which they have bestowed upon the printing of these volumes.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON:
November 16th 1903

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INTRODUCTION.

THE LIFE OF PALLADIUS AND THE BOOK OF PARADISE.

THE comparatively few facts which are known of the life of Palladius are derived almost entirely from his own writings, and there are many periods in his life about which exact information would be of great importance for the understanding of the BOOK OF PARADISE, by which work he has immortalized himself. He was probably born in Galatia about the year 367, and in the twentieth year of his age (386) he became a monk. According to TILLEMONT, he first practised asceticism in Cappadocia, under the direction of Elpidius, the Abbot of a monastery; from Cappadocia he went to Bethlehem, probably in 387, and from that village to Jerusalem, where he met Melania and Rufinus. In the second consulship of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, *i. e.*, in 388, he went to Alexandria, and became the disciple of ISIDORE, who took him to a place six miles from the city, and handed him over to DOROTHEOS, the Theban, who had lived in a cave for sixty years. With this ascetic he lived for nearly three years (see page 131) endeavouring to learn to subdue the passions of the body, for Palladius himself says (p. 131) that he needed "not only the word, but also "the labour of the body, and severe physical excercises, "even like the young unbroken animal." This, how-

ever, he was unable to effect, for a severe illness made it necessary for him to leave DOROTHEOS, and he returned to ISIDORE (p. 132). About this time he visited the monk DIDYMUS (p. 136), and went to all the principal monasteries near Alexandria, and conversed with nearly two thousand monks (p. 143). He then sailed for a day and a half across Lake Mareotis, and came to Mount Nitria, where six hundred monks lived. Here he dwelt for a year (p. 144), and then he withdrew to the inner desert, and made his abode in that part of it which is called "The Cells", where he remained for nine years (p. 171), three of which he passed in close intercourse with MACARIUS the Alexandrian. In 399 Palladius again "fell sick with a sore sickness "which was caused by my kidneys and stomach," (p. 260) and the brethren, fearing that he was becoming dropsical, sent him to Alexandria to consult the physicians, who advised him to go to Palestine, and he set out for that country. Soon after this he departed to BITHYNIA, where the "air was temperate and "light," and beneficial for his body, and here, according to the prophecy of JOHN of LYCUS, "whether by the "care and solicitude of men, or whether by the Will "of God," he knew not he was made a bishop (p. 260). Palladius does not tell us who consecrated him or where his see was, but as he says that "he became an as-sociate in the trial which rose up against the blessed "JOHN (p. 260), he must have been an adherent of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and if this be so he was consecrated by that bishop, and his see was DREPANUM, or HELENOPOLIS, in Bithynia. He seems to have suffered persecution because of his friendship for John Chrysostom, for he tells us that he was "secluded for a period of

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"about eleven months in a dark cell" (p. 260), but whether he was actually imprisoned in the "dark cell," or lay there of his own accord in hiding, cannot be said. In 404 or 405 he fled to Rome, where he was received into the house of PINIANUS, who treated him with great kindness. When he left Rome he wished to go to Constantinople, but he and his friends were not allowed to land when they arrived there, and each member of the party to which he had attached himself was shut up in a separate chamber in the fortress of Athyre; when they refused to withdraw from their allegiance to John Chrysostom, the decree of banishment was pronounced against them, and Palladius was deported to Syene, (Aswân) in Upper Egypt. During his banishment from his bishopric he spent four years in "ANTINOË of the Thebaïd", where, he tells us, (p. 274) dwelt twelve hundred monks who worked with their hands, and he "learned concerning the whole of the "system of the religious houses which were there." According to TILLEMONT, the severity of the edict of banishment against Palladius was relaxed on the death of Theophilus in 412, and he was permitted to leave Syene, but it was not until 417 that his restoration to his diocese was possible. Whether he returned to Helenopolis we know not, but according to SOCRATES (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 36), he was translated about 432 from that see to ASPUNA in Galatia Prima. Between 417 and 420 Palladius set to work on the compilation of the "Book of Paradise", and it was finished in the year 420. The year of his death is unknown.

In the summary of the years of his life given by Palladius in this work (see p. 119) he says, "I lived a "life of rule and was in a monastery of solitary brethren

“for the first part of my life, that is to say, until the “thirty-third year of my age, and I served the office “of Bishop for twenty years; thus the whole period “of my life hath included fifty-six years.” But thirty-three and twenty only make fifty-three, and as he himself gives the total years of his life as fifty-six, some short sentence, which would tell us the way in which he spent the other three years, may have dropped out of the Syriac text.

The “Book of Paradise” was written at the request of one LAUSUS, who was the chief chamberlain in the royal household, which has been generally assumed to be that of Theodosius II; it was dedicated by Palladius to this God-fearing man, and for this reason is commonly known as the “LAUSIAC HISTORY”. Palladius describes his friend as a man “whose mind is full of “doctrine, whose habits are those of a lover of peace, “who feareth God in his heart, and who loveth Christ “in his mind” (p. 115). In the preface to his work Palladius tells Lausus that he will relate to him the story of ascetics, whom he was “held to be worthy “to see face to face”, and that he will set down in writing “with exactness” the things which he has seen (p. 116). As far as a “man could walk”, Palladius went through cities and towns, and visited the caves, and holes in the ground, and the booths in the desert wherein the monks lived, so that he might collect his information at first hand. In the course of his work he travelled in Libya, Egypt, including the Thebaïd, and the regions of Tabenna, and Syene, in Syria, and Palestine, and in Mesopotamia, and also in Italy, and he says, “in travels and journeyings I would have “trodden the whole of the territory of the Greeks so

“that I might have the opportunity of conversing with “each of the lovers of God” (p. 122). In fact, when we sum up the amount of time which Palladius spent in investigating the lives and deeds of the monks, we find that it amounts to more than thirty years, and it is doubtful if any other human being ever devoted such a large portion of his life to a similar occupation. There was, probably, no kind of Christian monk which was unknown to him, and if an ascetic enjoyed a reputation for any special virtue or Christian quality, and the report of him reached Palladius, no cave, or hole in the earth, or booth, or habitation, was too remote or wretched for him to visit, and it would seem that his tact and sympathy enabled him to extract exactly the kind of information which he wanted. It is, nevertheless, very hard to understand why a man, who suffered as Palladius did from serious internal ailments, should have voluntarily undertaken long journeys into the desert, and endured, necessarily, hunger and thirst, and heat and cold, instead of sitting down quietly in some monastery or religious house, and living the ascetic life in a moderate fashion. We know not whether he was a man of great private means or not, but it is quite clear that if he lived for years at a time in places like the Nitrian Mountain, and the Monasteries of Tabenna and Antinoë, and among the most strenuous of monks, his life must have conformed closely to theirs, and that he must have been regarded by every kind of ascetic as a fellow labourer in the rule of stern self-abnegation.

The great value of the Book of Paradise, to say nothing of its charm, consists in the fact that the author informs the reader when he is describing what

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he has actually seen, and when he is recording the things which he has collected on hearsay evidence. And moreover, he kept nothing back from his friend LAUSUS, and he hid nothing from him, and although he wished the lives of the ascetics which he related to him to form an example which would guide him to the loftiest heights of Christian virtue, he did not fail to set down in them the details of the sins which certain holy men committed, and he narrated cases of their apostacy with all due care. Palladius was a truthful and an impartial observer of the ascetics and their lives, and he mentions their foibles and their weaknesses with the same minuteness as their greatest virtues; in every narrative which may be taken to have been written by Palladius himself, we find that the facts of the case, and the facts only, are given, and that the author's comment everywhere is surprisingly small. We know that Palladius was a monk, and that he possessed well-developed ascetic sympathies, but his histories are at times so lacking in expression of personal feeling and opinion, that they might almost be the work of a conscientious student of a particular phase of development of human thought, who is so anxious to write down his facts in a truthful and unbiased manner, that his work becomes quite colourless.

The matter might be better understood if we knew more of the friendship which existed between Lausus and Palladius, and what real reason the former had in urging the latter to write the "Book of Paradise". Lausus had, no doubt, heard of the extraordinary attraction which the monastic life possessed for people of all classes, and how men and women dispersed their possessions, and withdrew to the desert, and gave

themselves up to a life of hardness and self-denial, according to their power to endure the ascetic rule. That a man who was a Christian eunuch at the court of Theodosius II should wish to know about the lives of the Egyptian monks and nuns is natural enough, and it is possible that his royal master may have wished him to procure a report on the subject, but if this were so we should expect to find more general historical facts and dates in the work of Palladius, whereby his statements might be checked or controlled. The lack of historical data is, however, one of the reasons which the critics of the Book of Paradise have urged against the authenticity of the work, but with me this has small weight, for the local colour in all that concerns Egypt and its inhabitants, is so correct, that everyone who has travelled in the deserts and mountains of that country, feels that the descriptions given of them by Palladius could only have been written by one who had himself passed through them. An instance of this may be quoted.

Palladius tells us (p. 173) that a gnat once bit Macarius, and that as the bite gave him pain, he put forth his hand and killed the insect. Having done this he despised himself because he had killed the gnat, and as a punishment for his weakness he condemned himself to go and sit naked for six months at Scete, where the "gnats" were so savage and strong that they could pierce the skin of a pig. Macarius departed to Scete, and when he came back six months later, his skin was so much bitten and swollen, and so much like the "hide of an elephant", that his friends only knew him by his voice. Palladius does not tell us the exact situation of the spot where Macarius sat

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naked for six months, and he does not say at what time of the year he was there, but everyone who knows Egypt will feel certain that Macarius went to the place in June or July and stayed there until nearly the end of the year. At that time the whole of the neighbourhood of Nitria and Scete towards the north is plagued with a species of large insect which attacks men and women and bites viciously, especially new comers, making the ankles, feet, hands, and face to swell, and to become covered, in the case of white men, with hard red lumps, which often fester and cause serious illness. These "gnats" are most ferocious when the inundation is at its height in the Delta, *i. e.*, during the month of October, and they breed in great numbers in the shallow, brackish waters which lie at a distance of a few miles from Scete; they seem to be specially attracted by the eye-lids, and are, I believe, the cause of many of the diseases of the eye which are still so common in the more northerly parts of the Delta. The puffy, swollen body of a darkskinned native who had been subjected to the attacks of such "gnats" for six months, would undoubtedly resemble the lumpy hide of the elephant, and this description is most apposite.

We may take another example of the accuracy of the writer of an interesting narrative in dealing with local details. In the history of MOSES the Indian, *i. e.*, Ethiopian, (see p. 328) he tells us that this man "crossed "the Nile by swimming", and that his clothes were placed on his head. That such is the custom of the *fellahin* at the present day is well known to visitors to Egypt, for in the villages at eventide the spectator may see many men doffing their blue garments, and rolling them up in a bundle to place on their heads

as they prepare to swim across the Nile in a diagonal direction. When the river is high and the current strong, if the man has a long way to swim down the river he will take a goat skin and inflate it with a reed, and having tied the neck tightly round with a string, will use it as a swimming bladder. Usually, however, when it is a question of merely crossing the river, a native ties up his tools, or valuables, or food in his clothes, and placing the bundle on his head quickly walks into the river and crosses to the other side. In Mesopotamia, however, inflated goat skins are commonly used, at least in the regions which border on the Tigris, for the river is as "swift as an arrow", and the current very strong. That Palladius was well aware of this fact is clear from the history of Mark (*or*, Malchus), a native of Máróniâ near Antioch (see p. 353). When he and the woman who was his fellow captive had made up their minds to escape, he killed two large goats, and drew from their bodies their skins in such a way that they might form water bottles. When the skin of an animal is to be made into a water bottle, it is drawn off with great care. The head is cut off cleanly, and the skin ripped up, in a straight line along the belly from the neck to the tail; a clean slit is next made down each leg, and round the hoof. When the skin has been removed and dried it is sewn together with leather thongs, and every opening, except the neck, is carefully closed; it is next soaked in water, which partially removes the disagreeable odour, and is then ready for use either as a water-bottle, or as a swimming skin.

Having made his water-bottles, Mark (*or*, Malchus) carried them empty until he came to the river, which

he knew they would have to cross, and then he blew them up and, sitting astride them in the water, he and the woman paddled themselves across the river. Having reached the opposite bank, knowing that they were going to travel in a waterless land, each drank abundantly, and then they set out on their road. After five nights of travel, for it was too hot to journey by day, they looked round suddenly, and found that their master had overtaken them, and that he and a companion were pursuing them with drawn swords in their hands. Looking about them quickly, Mark and the woman spied a cave which, though full of snakes and scorpions, they entered and there they awaited their enraged master. Now in the facts here given there is abundant proof that the writer of the narrative describes the Mesopotamian desert from knowledge at first hand. The portion of the country referred to is that which lies between Urfa and the Sinjâr Mountains, where huge numbers of sheep are watched by shepherds, who live there for months at a time without returning to their homes, and who remain unvisited by their masters for months. It is quite easy for a shepherd to escape if he wishes to do so, but if he does, his experiences are usually not pleasant ones. The cave in which our monk and his companion hid themselves is well described, and I have seen numbers of such places in my journeys across the Mesopotamian desert between Urfa and Nisibin (Nisibis), and from one near the ruins called "Wiranshihr", in which we intended to pass the night in January 1889, we were driven out by the numbers of scorpions which came up out of the ground soon after we had lighted our fire. The most lifelike touch of all in the story is the statement

that Mark and the woman had to travel by night because of the heat of the sun in the day, and everyone who knows that desert will remember that from the end of June to September no man crosses it except by night. Had the monk been an Arab he would have escaped, for he would have known how to guide himself by the stars, and he would not have been caught, seeing that he had a start of five days; but having been brought up in a monastery, he had no experience of the desert, and his five nights' travel did not take him far in a forward direction. The whole story breathes of the desert, and none but a man having experience of the particular part of the Mesopotamian desert at first hand could have written it.

We may now consider briefly another important characteristic of the Book of Paradise, which goes far to establish its genuineness, namely, the fact that it is no mere one-sided description of the lives of the ascetics of Egypt, written with the view of depicting their virtues only, but a trustworthy account in which the writer describes their weaknesses as well as their strength, and their sinful backslidings as well as their holiness. Indeed Palladius says (p. 194), "It is very necessary, O my brethren, that we should also keep in memory the histories which concern the life and deeds of those who have tripped up and fallen as an excellent admonition of those who come across this book", and he goes on to point out that on several occasions it is the very excellence of a man, provided it was not "made perfect by means of a correct motive," which has brought about his undoing. As a proof of this the following instances may be quoted:—Valens the Palestinian became so haughty that even the devils

laughed at him (p. 196). One night Satan came to him in the form of Christ, and told him that he loved his life and deeds, and Valens was mad enough to believe him, and he fell down and worshipped him. Next day Valens went down to the church and told the brethren that he had no need to partake of the Offering, "for", said he, "I have seen Christ Himself." The fathers promptly put him in irons, and after a year of this treatment he recovered, and became humble.

Similarly, Hero, the Alexandrian, became puffed up with pride, and refused to acknowledge the authority of Evagrius, supporting his rebellion by the words of the Gospel, "Ye shall call no man master on the earth." He likewise refused to partake of the Offering, and, like Valens, was put in irons. Palladius himself explains the reason for this behaviour on the part of Hero, for he says that he ate too little, and that his life was "immeasurably strict." He only ate a meal once in three months, maintaining that the "participation in the "Mysteries" was sufficient to keep him alive. If, however, he came upon "wild herbs" by chance he would eat them (p. 198). On one occasion he walked to Scete a distance of forty miles, and neither ate nor drank by the way, but as he trudged along he recited from memory fifteen Psalms, the Beatitudes, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Gospel of Saint Luke, the Book of Proverbs, the Book of Isaiah, and a portion of the Book of Jeremiah. Finally, however, lust overcame him, and he betook himself to Alexandria, where he went to theatres and circuses, and passed the rest of his time in the common drinking rooms of the taverns, and in the houses of harlots. At length he fell sick

of a loathsome disease which necessitated the performance of a serious operation, and having lost his manhood he returned to the desert, and confessed his sins to the fathers; and after a short time, which he passed in weeping and repentance, he died. Ptolemy the Egyptian, who lived in an awful place in the desert called "Klimax" (*i. e.*, the Ladder), which was twelve miles distant from water, wrought good deeds for a period of fifteen years, but afterwards he lost faith in the Offering, and gave himself up to a life of riotous prodigality, and no man ever heard him utter a profitable word afterwards.

Stephânâ also, who lived in the desert for twenty-nine years, was so much accustomed to fast, that he lost all desire and appetite for meat, and he despised those who, even when they were sick, ate cooked food or drank cream (milk?). He had the gift of healing, and could cast out devils, but at length he resented the authority of Macarius, and betook himself to Alexandria, where he gave himself up to gluttony and drunkenness; he frequented low taverns, and consorted with harlots, and "gratified his lusts in a filthy manner "without shame" (p. 401). One day when Evagrius and Palladius were in Alexandria they met him, and tried to induce him to return to his former life, but he spurned and reviled them, and said, "Up to the present I have certainly been wandering [in the path "of error], but now I have found the path of truth." Finally he induced a needy virgin to come and live with him in his desert abode, and he passed two years with her in sin. One night certain thieves broke into his house, and, having bound him with cords, they beat him severely until he revealed to them where his

possessions were hidden; and when they had taken these, they took Stéphânâ, and the woman, whom they had also bound, and, having shut them up in a chamber wherein there was straw, they set the house on fire, and they were burned to death (see page 400).

The case of Eucarpus (see page 406) is as sad as that of Valens. For fifteen years he lived a severe ascetic life, and he spoke to no man during this period; his food consisted of vegetables and pounded garden herbs, and his labours were infinite. One night the Devil appeared to him in the form of an angel of light, and said, "I am Christ"; Eucarpus believed and worshipped. Then the Devil began to flatter him, and he did so with such success, that Eucarpus went down to the church and insulted a brother called John, and told the brethren that during the past night Christ had visited him, and had made him governor of Scete, and had told him to pay no heed to the writings of Evagrius, or to the words of John. Eucarpus then began to revile Macarius, whom he called a "painted idol", and Evagrius he spoke of with contempt as a mere "hewer of words". The brethren quickly saw that Eucarpus was mad, and put him in irons for nearly a year, but he seems never to have regained his former powers, and he died after a period of thirteen months, which were spent in ministering to the sick, and washing the feet of strangers.

The above instances only illustrate the collapse of the material body, which must certainly follow after a long course of systematic starvation, and it is doubtful how far Valens and the other backsliders are to be held responsible even for their lapses into gluttony, drunkenness, and fornication. There are, however,

many incidents described by Palladius which prove that he had no wish to let his friend Lausus think that the monks and nuns were not sometimes swayed by the passions and weaknesses of the men and women who lived in the world. Thus on p. 218 we have the story of the nun who drowned herself because she could not endure the false accusations which had been set on foot against her by a malicious sister in the convent; the case must have been a serious one, for the elder who was in charge of the nuns deprived those who had believed the story against the nun of the privilege of partaking of the Eucharist. We have also the narrative of the godly nun who was so much despised by her sisters that they would not allow her to eat at the same table with them, and she did so much menial work that Palladius describes her as the "broom of the monastery." Subsequently, when the sisters ceased to throw the rinsings of their cups over her, and treated her with respect, she was unable to endure the change, and she departed, and was never heard of again.

In dealing with the Book of Paradise several critics have condemned Palladius for his credulity in respect of miracles, but this is an unfair thing to do, because, after all, he only reproduces in his work the current opinion of the times in which he lived. Besides this, Egypt was the home of magic and of beliefs in the efficacy of words of power, symbols, names, and amulets, and there is abundant evidence to show that for centuries after the introduction of Christianity into that country, the people clung to and believed in the greater number of the "superstitions" of Pre-Christian times. The monks, in common with people living in

the world, believed that if they were sufficiently holy, they could work miracles, either by making use of the sign of the Cross, or of the Name of Christ Jesus, and they thought that they had power, like the Apostles, to heal the sick and to cast out devils. The Devil and his hosts were veritable beings in the minds of the Egyptians, and their attacks could only be warded off by supernatural means. When a devil took up his abode in a man or woman he could only be expelled by the mention of a being more powerful than he, and, as all sicknesses were believed to be caused by the direct, personal attacks of fiends of divers kinds, the cure of the sufferer followed automatically on the expulsion of the evil spirit which had vexed him.

An ancient Egyptian legend tells us that the daughter of the king of Bekhten was possessed of a devil, and that her father sent to Egypt and asked the king to send him a "man of knowledge" who would drive him out. The king did so, but when the skilled envoy arrived he was unable to perform the task which had been set him. Thereupon the king of Bekhten sent to Egypt again, and begged for more powerful help, and this time Pharaoh asked the god Khonsu Nefer-hetep if he would go to Bekhten, and cure the princess; the god consented, and his statue was sent off in great state to that remote country, where he arrived after a journey of seventeen months. As soon as he arrived, and the princess had come into his presence, she experienced relief, and the devil which had vexed her came out from her, and made his submission to the god of Egypt, and acknowledged his great power. Khonsu was pleased to be gracious to the devil, who, having passed some time in friendly

talk with the god, was permitted to depart to his own place. Before he departed, however, he besought Khonsu to allow him to keep a feast with the king of Bekhten, and the god of Egypt allowed him to do so.¹ Whatever may be thought as to the credibility of the story, it proves that the ideas concerning demoniacal possession which were current in Egypt when Palladius was there were derived from the Egyptians of the dynastic period, who in turn inherited many of them from their ancestors who lived in the latter part of the Neolithic Age.

In Christian times, however, we find that Christ, and His Name, and the sign of the Cross were the Powers that worked miraculous healings, but the greatest of the monks believed that the influence of these, together with their healing and saving might, could be transferred to their own persons, provided they lived lives of stern self-denial and were sufficiently holy. To obtain personal holiness they fasted, and prayed, and mortified the flesh in every possible way, and with each advance in the conquest of carnal thoughts and desires, they felt that they had obtained additional powers to heal the sick, to cast out devils, to foretell events that were going to happen, to walk upon the water, to subdue savage animals, to arrest the sun in his course, and to raise the dead. The workers of religious magic among the Pre-Christian Egyptians claimed to be able to do all these things, the Gospels and the Acts declare that Christ and His Apostles also performed them, and it

¹ The Egyptian text will be found in Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments Égyptiens*, plate 24, and a rendering will be found in my *Egyptian Reading Book*, page xxviii ff.

followed as a matter of course that the monks of Egypt, who imitated with marvellous success the life and deeds of the Master, should also believe that they possessed supernatural powers. To condemn the Book of Paradise as a fabrication and as a collection of unauthentic histories, because it reflects the ideas and beliefs concerning supernatural powers which were current in his day, seems to me to be unjust towards Palladius in the extreme. In reality the belief of the monks in this respect is a simple one, for they argued that if Christ were the supreme God in human form, and He had cast out devils, and healed the sick, and raised the dead, He had it in His gift to transfer these powers to His followers, provided that their lives were sufficiently holy and they had unwavering faith in His ability to do so; the Apostles had these powers given to them by Him, why should not they have the same?

An interesting light is thrown upon the matter by the story of Abbâ Paul and Anthony (p. 187). The people brought to the latter a man possessed of a fierce devil, who was a prince among devils, and asked the holy man to cast him out, but Anthony declined to attempt to do so, saying that he had no power over that class of devil, and he took him to Paul. Paul then rose up and "prayed a prayer with great feeling," and ordered the devil to come out in the name of Anthony, but he refused, and began to revile the old man. Thereupon Paul smote him with his cowl, and again adjured him to go forth in the name of Anthony, and when the devil again refused with curses and swearings, Paul said, "Wilt thou go forth, or must I go and tell Christ, even Jesus? For if thou wilt not go forth I will go and tell Christ, and great

"woe shall come upon thee." The devil once more refused, and then, although it was noon, and the heat of the sun was as that of the fiery furnace into which the Three Children were cast in Babylon, Paul took his stand upon a stone in the mid-day heat, and calling upon Christ declared that he would not come down, and would neither eat nor drink until the devil had been cast out. And whilst he was yet speaking, the devil came out, and having been ordered by Paul to depart to the "uttermost depths of the abyss", he transformed himself into a serpent seventy cubits long, and glided away to the Red Sea. In this story we see that the holy life and name of Anthony failed to expel the devil, and that he was only driven out of the man by a direct appeal to Christ, supported by physical suffering on the part of Paul, coupled with an earnest and fervent vow of devotion even unto death. The presence of the serpent seventy cubits (*i. e.*, about one hundred feet) long is hard to account for, but it is quite clear that we have here a reminiscence of *Āpep*, the great mythological serpent of ancient Egypt, which was the symbol of physical evil and the personification of moral wickedness. The devil which was cast out had to be provided with an abode, otherwise he would lie in wait and enter into another man as soon as the opportunity presented itself; to avoid this result the snake appeared, by miraculous means we probably are to understand, and received the devil.

That men and women could be transformed into beasts and other creatures was a belief which formed an integral part of the religion of ancient Egypt we know from the Book of the Dead, which provided the worshipper of Osiris with the words of power necessary

to enable him to effect his transformations into any forms he pleased, and especially into those of the golden hawk, the divine hawk, the governor of the Powers, the god of light, the lotus, the god Ptah, the Bennu bird (phoenix), the heron, the living soul, the swallow, the serpent Sata, and the crocodile.¹ Whether Palladius believed that the devil whom Paul cast out transformed himself into a serpent is not clear, but he relates a story which illustrates the belief in transformation in an interesting manner. A certain man's wife who refused to yield herself to another man was transformed by sorceries into a mare, and her husband was greatly distressed (p. 168); for three days she neither ate grass like an animal, nor bread like a daughter of men. Then her husband saddled her like a mare, and threw a halter over her, and led her into the desert that he might bring her to Macarius the monk. When the companions of Macarius saw her they told him she was a mare, but as soon as Macarius had looked on her he declared that the appearance of the woman in the form of a mare was only "an error of the sight" of those who saw her. Then taking water he blessed it, and threw it over her until it ran down over all her body, and when he had prayed the woman assumed her natural form in the sight of every man.

In connexion with the working of miracles must be mentioned the marvellous powers which were attributed to Abbâ Apollo, who lived near Hermopolis. One day when he was passing a certain village he saw the inhabitants celebrating a heathen festival with

¹ See *Book of the Dead*, Chapters LXXVI-LXXXVIII.

singing, and dancing, and lewd sports, and bending his knees where he was, he prayed to Christ, and cast so mighty a spell upon all the people there that they felt as if they were bound with cords; they were unable to move for a whole day, and as they lay under the fierce rays of the sun they suffered greatly. The heathen priests brought oxen to move their idol, but the beasts became transfixed like the idol (p. 528), and it was only when Abbâ Apollo prayed on behalf of the people that the spell was removed. On another occasion, when Apollo and his companions had nothing wherewith to keep the Easter festival except some dry bread and pickled vegetables, the holy man prayed, and forthwith men appeared outside the cave bearing grapes, figs, pomegranates, nuts and almonds, which at that period did not exist [in Egypt], honey in the comb, butter, large dates, and ten loaves of bread which were still warm from the oven (p. 531). During a period of famine, when only three baskets of bread remained to the monks, Apollo prayed, and they were kept full of bread by miraculous means for four months. And when Satan asked him if he were a second Elijah, or one of the Apostles, Apollo answered, "Why should I not act thus? Were not the holy Prophets and the blessed Apostles men? Have they not handed down to us the traditions that they used to do such things? Is our Lord nigh unto them at one time, and remote at another?" Thus it is clear that Apollo believed that he possessed the same power as the Prophets and Apostles, and that he had obtained it from God.

The histories given by Palladius prove also that the monks of Egypt were believed to have dominion over the beasts of the field, and many interesting

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instances of this might be adduced; it will, however, be sufficient to refer to Abbâ Apellen, who commanded a goat to come and carry him, and the creature did so (p. 541). On another occasion when he wished to cross the Nile, he seated himself on the back of a crocodile, and so passed over to the other side. When Apellen had finished his business, he returned to the river and called the crocodile to him (p. 542), and when it had come to the bank, it placed its back in position for the holy man to mount, and carried him in safety to the place he had started from. The brother whom Apellen had invited to cross with him was afraid of the crocodile, and returned to his place. It is sad to learn that after the crocodile had rendered Apellen such excellent service the saint saw fit to slay the animal, saying, "Death is better for thee than the punishment [which thou shouldst receive] for the souls which thou hast already slain, and wouldst slay." More picturesque, however, is the story of the two lions who came and helped Anthony to bury Abbâ Paul. Whilst the holy man was in despair as to the means he should employ in digging a grave, for he had no spade with him, two lions came and, wagging their tails, crouched at his feet; and they rubbed their teeth together and purred loudly. Presently they began to throw up the earth with their paws, and at length a hole was made long enough and deep enough to contain the body of Paul; when this was done they dropped their ears and tails, and bowed their heads, and licked Anthony's hands and feet by way of asking for his blessing, then Anthony stroked the lions and bade them depart, and when they had gone he buried Paul in the hole they had made. Whatever may be the

substratum of fact which underlies this story, it is quite certain that wild creatures of all sorts have made friends with the recluses who have lived among them in all times and in all countries.

When we consider how minute are the descriptions given us of the holy men and of their manner of life in the Book of Paradise, it is somewhat surprising to find how little we are told about the ancient buildings of Egypt with which the writers must have been very familiar. The writer of the life of Apollo mentions that he visited the monks in Babylon, *i. e.*, Old Cairo, and Memphis, and that he saw the "granaries of Joseph" "wherein he collected grain in the time of trouble" (p. 582); these "granaries" can have been nothing but the Pyramids of Gizeh. Speaking of Hermopolis as the dwelling-place of Abbâ Apollo, the narrator says that Christ went there with Mary and Joseph (p. 520), and that he saw the temple wherein all the idols fell down "when our Redeemer went into that city." Here there appears to be some confusion, and I suspect that Hermopolis has been confounded with Heliopolis in the mind of the writer. There are, however, several traditions of what happened at Al-Ashmûnên near Hermopolis, as, for example, that a cock and five dromedaries went out from the town, and that when they saw the Holy Family they worshipped, and were turned into stone, and that near a temple in the neighbourhood of Ashmûnên stood a tree which bowed its head in adoration when Christ and Mary passed by. In the history of Abbâ Apollo we meet with some interesting speculation on the worship of idols, animals, &c., by the ancient Egyptians, and the holy man says, "These heathen, and the early inhabitants of the country

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“worshipped the bull because he was useful in ploughing the ground wherefrom they obtained their food, “and they worshipped the waters of the Nile which “irrigated their whole country, and also the earth itself, “which yielded to them excellent crops, and which is “far more excellent than the soil of other countries.”

Speaking generally, this account of the origin of the worship of the bull and of Osiris (water) and of Isis (earth) is true, and it shews that Apollo was a man who thought about matters other than the ascetic life.

It now remains to consider very briefly the manner of life which the monks led in the deserts of Egypt. The first duty of the would-be ascetic was to separate himself from the companionship of men, and to betake himself to some part of the desert where he could live a solitary life in meditation and contemplation. Anthony, the pattern monk, began his career by departing to a mountain at no great distance from his native village, where he strove to copy the life and deeds of Elijah the Prophet and of John the Baptist. He toiled all day at the plaiting of palm leaves into mats and baskets, and from the proceeds of the sale of these he paid for his food, and what remained he gave to the poor. As he plaited he prayed, and he practised the strictest self-denial, and fasted often; he offended no man, and strove to do good to all. At this time the thoughts of lust moved in him, and the Devil appeared to him in the form of a woman, with the view of compassing his fall, but the attack was repulsed, for the holy man watched all night in prayer, and passed three or four days, and, it is said, even whole weeks at a time, without eating. He ate bread and salt, and drank water; meat and wine he eschewed.

Usually he slept on the bare ground, but sometimes he used a mat; he neither washed nor anointed his limbs with oil, for he said that both these things made the members of the body effeminate. Anthony next moved to a tomb, where the devils came upon him in a host and beat him severely, and subsequently they appeared to him in the forms of serpents, wolves, scorpions, lions, and other beasts, but failed to terrify him, or to make him change his manner of life. After these things Anthony left the tomb, and set out for the desert, where he intended to live henceforward; on his way he was tempted by the Devil, who offered him a silver tablet, and much gold, and at length he came to a mountain which was infested by serpents. There was a stream of water in the mountain, and near this he took up his abode; as for bread, he received a supply once every six months. Here he became the victim of untold assaults of Satan and his hosts, and the men who went to visit Anthony could hear him doing battle with them inside the cave in the rock in which he lived. The fiends came by night with torches, and threatened to burn him alive, they clapped their hands at him and whistled, they danced before him in various shapes, and one day they pulled his hut about his ears; but the saint was in no way disturbed by these things. At this time he wore an undressed skin garment, with the hair inside.

When Anthony had led the life described above for several years, he obtained the power to heal the sick and to work miracles; he cured Parniton of a disease in the eyes, he restored the sight of a virgin of Bûşâr (Busiris?), he healed a woman of a disease which had lasted twelve years, he foretold events

which were about to happen, he was able to see a disembodied soul making its way to heaven, he crossed the Lycus river without wetting his feet, he restored the nun Polycratia to health, and he could "transform" his mind, and lift it up to the heavens. Philosophers and others came from far and near to him, and to each and all he returned gracious answers couched in simple words. He knew no language but Egyptian, and when the Emperor Constantine and his sons wrote letters to him, he found the task of replying a laborious one.

It is easy to see from the above extracts that the life of Anthony was one of great simplicity, and that although it lacked many of the ultra-ascetic practices which characterized the monks of later times, it was the example which every monk kept before his eyes. It is doubtful if many of the recluses possessed the even mind and temperament of Anthony, and very few of them could have been endowed with such an amount of natural ability and ready wit. On the other hand, many of his followers surpassed him in the strenuousness of their practices, as a mere glance at the histories of Palladius will show. Thus Macarius of Alexandria, wishing to vanquish sleep, never went under a roof for twenty days (p. 173), and was without rest, both by day and by night. During the forty days of Lent the same saint stood in a corner of a hut, and he touched neither bread nor water, nor bent the knee, nor lay down until the forty days had passed; each Sunday, however, he ate a few moist cabbage leaves so that people might think he was taking some food (p. 177). When evil thoughts arose in his mind he would fill a basket with two or three bushels of sand,

and wander about in the desert until he was exhausted (p. 179); Hero the Alexandrian only ate food once every three months (p. 198); Evagrius lived on one pound of bread a day, and a flask of oil which lasted three months, and on two occasions he stood up naked in the open desert in winter for forty days at a time (p. 343); Eustathius for twenty-five years never left the mountain in which he lived (p. 283); Possidonius never ate bread for forty years (p. 263); and for forty-eight years John of Lycus never saw a woman's face (p. 261). The above examples might be increased very largely, but sufficient has been said to illustrate the sternness of the lives of the Christian monks of Egypt.

In perusing the histories recorded by Palladius, Hieronymus and others in the following pages, the reader can hardly fail to note the extreme impartiality which the writers display in dealing with the various ascetics whose lives they describe. We find none of the high-sounding epithets and flattering encomiums which are characteristic of later compositions of the same class, but the facts of each life are set down with almost mechanical monotony, and any opinion which is passed by the writer of the history is given in as few words as possible, and in an, apparently, unfeeling manner. Most of the lives form magnificent examples of devotion to the loftiest ideal, of self-abnegation, and of a daily dying of the natural emotions, of the mind, and of the passions, and instincts, and thoughts, to which the death of the mere physical body must have seemed a relief and rest. And when we consider that many of the ascetics mentioned in this book rejected worldly possessions and positions in order to embrace a life in which self-denial and patient

endurance of the most abject poverty formed the leading characteristics, it is impossible not to feel that the study of the Christian ascetics of Egypt as presented to us by Palladius well describes one of the most interesting phases of religious life and thought that the world has ever seen. Palladius has, in my opinion, treated his subject sympathetically and carefully, and though his work contains many difficulties, and lacks the chronological data which we now look for in compilations of the kind, there seems to me to be no reason for doubting the general accuracy of the statements which he makes from his personal knowledge. Moreover, before the critic makes haste to condemn the Book of Paradise as an unveracious history, he must take care to separate the mistakes made by Palladius from those made by his editors in ancient days, and to eliminate interpolated words, and all passages which have been added to it by ignorant though well-meaning scribes and copyists.

**'ANÂN-ĪSHŌ'S RECENSION OF THE "BOOK OF PARADISE"
ACCORDING TO LADY MEUX MANUSCRIPT No. 6.**

In the PREFACE to this edition of the "Book of Paradise" reference has already been made to the description of that work as given in the "BOOK OF GOVERNORS" by THOMAS Bishop of Margâ, about B. C. 840, who felt that it was "not right that the glorious "memory of the holy Abbâ Anân-Īshô" should drop "out from our mind, or that we should suppress the "mention of his indefatigable zeal, but that, on the "contrary, we should place his noble acts among [those "of] his companions, for happiness at the right hand "of our Lord Christ is [also] laid up for him with them." (Book ii. Chapter xi.) Thomas of Margâ wrote his account of 'Anân-Īshô's Recension of the Book of Paradise about two hundred years after that work was completed, but as Thomas was a monk in the Monastery of Bêth 'Ābhê, wherein 'Anân-Īshô had also lived and toiled at his great literary labours, and as he shows perfect familiarity with the histories given in the Book of Paradise, it is not unreasonable to assume that he had access to a copy of 'Anân-Īshô's Recension, which may well have been written whilst this famous man was still living, or soon after his death. We know that the Monastery of Bêth 'Ābhê possessed a fine library, and that it contained copies

of the works of the most famous literary monks of that venerable house is tolerably certain. We may, then, first give the principal details of 'Anân-Īshō's life, and a translation of Thomas of Margā's description of the contents of the Book of Paradise, and afterwards compare it with Lady Meux Manuscript No. 6.

Of 'Anân-Īshō himself Thomas says:—"Now this "blessed man 'Anân-Īshō and Īshō-yahbh his brother "came from the country of Adiabene; they were both "trained in doctrine in the city of Nisibis, being children "of the school and love and household of the blessed "Īshō-yahbh [of Adiabene]. They became disciples in "the Great Monastery [of Īzlā], as the books which "belong to them in the library of this monastery testify, "for they shew that they were written by their hands "there. Now Abbā Anân-Īshō having lived the life "of an ascetic with all excellence, and having his mind "constantly fixed upon the works of the ascetic fathers, "determined to go and worship in Jerusalem. And "from there he went to the desert of Scete, where he "learned concerning all the manner of the lives of the "ascetic fathers; whose histories and questions are "written in books, and concerning their dwellings, and "the places in which they lived. And when he turned "to come back he made his journey by way of the "[monastery of the] holy Mār John, Bishop of the Scat- "tered, of whom I have made mention a little way "back, that he might be blessed by his holiness, and "enjoy his conversation. And after he had come "to his own monastery, he took his brother, and they "came to his monastery [of Bēth 'Ābhē] by reason of "the annoyance and contention which had taken place "there, for certain men who were slanderers, and who

“set themselves against holy men, had risen up there,
“and they drove out the holy Rabban Narsai, the dis-
“ciple of Mār Babhai, who finally became head of the
“monastery and was renowned for a life of excellence.
“..... Now when they came to his monastery, and
“dwelt in silence according to the rule of ascetics,
“Rabban ‘Anân-Īshō’ the wise of understanding laboured
“so hard in the study of books, that he surpassed all
“who were before and after him in his knowledge.
“And when Mār Īshō-yahbh was Metropolitan of Arbēl
“(Arbela), and wished to draw up in order a book of
“the Canons that he might send copies of it to all the
“countries of his patriarchate, he made the wise Abbā
“‘Anân-Īshō’, the love of whom is very dear and sweet
“to me, to sit with him during the drawing up of the
“Canons, because of the institutes and rules which he
“had composed, and because he found that he alone
“possessed in a sufficient measure a clear mind, and a
“natural talent for the art of music, and a knowledge
“how to arrange words. . . . And the noble ‘Anân-Īshō’
“composed definitions and divisions of various things,
“which were written upon the walls of his cell. And
“when his brother Mār Īshō-yahbh came to pray in
“this monastery, and saw the divisions of the science
“of philosophy of his brother ‘Anân-Īshō’, he begged
“him to write a commentary on them for him, and to
“send it to him, which ‘Anân-Īshō’ actually did. And
“he wrote to him a clear exposition in many lines,
“from which will be apparent to every one who readeth
“therein the greatness of his wisdom: he also
“wrote a work on the correct pronunciation of the
“words and of the difficult words which are used with
“different significations in the writings of the Fathers,

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“soled in his tribulation, and
“find relief, and might also
“lay a soothing plaster on
“the wound which was caus-
“ing him pain; [and besides
“these, *i. e.*, the six hundred
“and fifteen chapters,] there
“were four hundred and
“thirty others, which would
“give a man information in
“general upon all kinds of
“spiritual excellence, and
“there were many others
“which he did not arrange
“in numerical order, and
“which he did not group
“or classify. And he took
“from the Commentary on
“the blessed Matthew the
“Evangelist the Discourse
“which was composed by
“Mâr John [Chrysostom] on
“the praises of the monks
“who were in Egypt, and
“the Questions of the blessed
“Mâr Abraham of Neph-
“thar, and demonstrations
“and other histories which
“he himself had collected
“from the writings of the
“Fathers. And he arranged
“the whole book in two
“sections; in the first portion

مَكْنَسٌ : هَلْ لَكَ لَيْدٌ مَعَكَ
 مَعِ زَوْجِي شَرٌّ مَعَهُ : أَيْ
 مَعَهُ مَكْنَسٌ بَدَلٌ مَعَهُ
 دِيْنِي. هُوَ دِيْنِي : هُوَ لَكُمْ
 نَسَبٌ : لَكُمْ دِيْنٌ مَعَكُمْ :
 بَدَلٌ مَعَهُ وَتَبِ دِيْنُهُ مَعَهُ.
 هَسَبٌ مَعَهُ : لَكُمْ دِيْنٌ
 لَكُمْ لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ : دِيْنٌ
 لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ. هُوَ مَعَهُ
 دِيْنُهُ مَعَهُ : هُوَ مَعَهُ
 مَعَهُ دِيْنُهُ مَعَهُ : هُوَ
 بَدَلٌ مَعَهُ دِيْنُهُ
 دِيْنِي : هُوَ دِيْنٌ مَعَهُ
 مَعَهُ دِيْنُهُ مَعَهُ : هُوَ
 دِيْنٌ مَعَهُ نَسَبٌ دِيْنٌ
 مَعَهُ مَعَهُ دِيْنُهُ مَعَهُ :
 مَعَهُ. لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ :
 لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ : دِيْنٌ :

“were the histories of the
“holy Fathers, which were
“composed by Palladius and
“Hieronymus, and in the
“second portion the ques-
“tions and the narratives (*or*,
“matters) of the Fathers
“which he had arranged and
“classified. And he called
“this Book ‘PARADISE’, and
“thus hath it been handed
“down and accepted in all
“the Monasteries of the East,
“and the Fathers in every
“place have praised his
“ability and applauded his
“work. And being inflamed
“by love for him I have
“written down his honour-
“able memorial among the
“histories of the holy men
“who were his companions
“in his work and congre-
“gation.”

[illegible]

Now, taking the text as it stands, we see that the Recension of the Book of Paradise made by 'Anân-Īshō' contained two parts; in the first werē the histories of the Fathers by Palladius and Jerome, and in the second were 615 "Chapters", divided into 14 sections, and 430 other "Chapters" duly numbered, and many other "Chapters" neither numbered nor arranged, which 'Anân-Īshō' had himself collected during the course of his reading. In the edition of Thomas of Margā's Book

of Governors which I published in 1893, I translated his description of the contents of the second volume of the Book of Paradise thus (vol. ii. p. 190):—"He "arranged and fitted together in smooth order, six "hundred chapters, [divided] into fifteen Canons, each "containing forty sections," that is to say I made out that the first part of the second volume of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension contained a collection of "Chapters" which differed both in number and in division into sections from the arrangement of the "Chapters" in Lady Meux Manuscript No. 6. The use of the word "Chapters" (𐭠𐭣𐭥) was puzzling, for the words six hundred "Chapters" suggested a very large work indeed, and if to these were added the other four hundred and thirty "Chapters" that were numbered, and the miscellaneous unnumbered "Chapters" mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, it seemed that 'Anân-Īshō's Recension must have filled several large volumes. It is, however, clear that Thomas does not use the word "Chapter" here in the ordinary way, and a persual of the second half of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension shows that in literature of this kind it denotes either a "Saying" of an ascetic, or a narrative of some act in his life, or a question and answer which have reference to the Fathers and to spiritual excellence. In fact, as Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER has very rightly pointed out the word 𐭠𐭣𐭥 which Assemâni translated "Capitulum", and I "Chapters", means "Apophthegmata", for "what 'Anân-Īshō did was to rearrange the 'Conversations of "the Elders"' (BUTLER, *Lausiak History*, p. 92, note 12). This conclusion simplified the matter a little, for it made it certain that the "Chapters" mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, and the "Sayings of the Fathers," whether each contained five or fifty lines of text,

were one and the same thing, and all that remained to be done was to try and harmonize the number of the "Chapters" or "Sayings", and the number of the sections. With the view of doing this I counted the "Sayings" in the manuscript and found that the first section contained 62 "Sayings", the second 41, the third 31, the fourth 22, the fifth 24, the sixth 53, the seventh 11, the eighth 40, the ninth 50, the tenth 112, the eleventh 39, the twelfth 13, the thirteenth 13, the fourteenth about 516, and the fifteenth 63. Many of the "Sayings" contain more than one "Saying", *e. g.*, that which is attributed to Abbâ Moses consists of *seven* distinct Apophthegmata (see Page 849, No. 117), and it is not always possible to be certain where a "Saying" ends. Now, if we add up the numbers of the Apophthegmata given in the fifteen sections enumerated above, it will be found that they amount to about 1090, and it is thus tolerably clear that they represent the 615 chapters mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, and the 430 additional "Chapters" and some at least of the unnumbered "Chapters" which 'Anân-Îshô collected independently. Thus, although, the manuscript contains substantially all the "Chapters" which Thomas describes, there is no possibility of identifying the first thirteen sections of the Sayings of the Fathers, which contain in all about 511 "Chapters", with a work consisting of "fifteen Canons, each containing forty sections." We must therefore reject the emendation proposed in my "Book of Governors", vol. ii. p. 190, note 1.

We may now consider the other contents of the manuscript, and describe it briefly. Lady Meux MS. No. 6 consists of 353 paper leaves measuring 13¹/₂ inches

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by 9 inches. Each page is occupied by one column of writing, generally containing 28 lines. The quires are thirty-six in number, and are signed by letters. The volume is written in a fine, bold Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points. In the colophon (fol. 352^a) the whole book is described as containing "the Histories "and Triumphs of the holy Fathers [and] solitary monks "which were composed by the holy and excellent Mâr "Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, and which he wrote "for Lausus, the chamberlain" [of the Emperor Theodosius]. It was copied by 'Îsâ bar-Esha'yâ, the son of Cyriacus, a deacon of Ekrôr, in Alkôsh, the village of Nahum the Prophet, and the work was finished on the sixth day of the Latter Teshrin in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1890, when Mâr Êliyâ was Catholicus and Patriarch of Babylon of the East. We may note in passing that in the colophon the whole of the contents of the book are attributed to Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, although the very first work in it, viz., the Life of Anthony the Great, is expressly stated to have been composed by Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, and we know well that by far the larger part of the rest of the contents were not composed by Palladius. This fact need not, however, trouble us, for it only means that the scribe followed the practice which has been common in the East from time immemorial, and grouped under the name of Palladius all the works which dealt with the Histories and Sayings of the monks, and which might well be considered akin to the subject matter of the Book of Paradise. It is, of course, a careless way of speaking, but as Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER has pointed

out,¹ it was adopted by the late WILLIAM WRIGHT, and I have followed his example.

The following are the contents of the manuscript:—

I. THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF ANTHONY THE GREAT
BY ATHANASIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA. Foll.
1—41^a.

II. THE BOOK OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE HOLY FATHERS
WHO WERE MONKS, WHICH IS CALLED "PARADISE".

a. The Epistle of Palladius to Lausus the Prefect.
Fol. 41^b.

b. A description of the plan (*or*, object) of the Book.
Fol. 42^a.

c. Counsels to Lausus. Fol. 43^b.

HISTORIES OF THE HOLY MEN:—

1. Of Abbâ ISIDORE of Alexandria. Fol. 47^b.

2. Of DOROTHEOS of Thebes. Fol. 48^a.

3. Of the Virgin [POTAMIOENIA]. Fol. 50^a.

Following these are the words:—"Here end
"the triumphs of Isidore, and Dorotheos, and
"the virgin."

4. Of DIDYMUS. Fol. 50^b.

5. Of ALEXANDRA of Alexandria. Fol. 51^b.

6. Of MACARIUS the lapidary and the wealthy
virgin. Fol. 52^a.

7. Of the monks who lived in Nitria. Fol. 53^a.

8. Of AMMON, the first monk in the Nitrian
desert, who saw Anthony, and whose soul
was taken to heaven by angels. Fol. 54^a.

9. Of 'ÔR who was visited by MELANIA. Fol. 55^b.

10. Of PANBÔ (*or*, PAMBÔ), who was visited by
MELANIA. Fol. 55^b.

¹ *Lausiac History*, p. 95.

11. Of AMMONIUS, the disciple of PAMBÔ, who received RUFINUS the prefect after his baptism, and who knew by heart 10,600 of the Sayings of the Fathers. Fol. 56^b.
12. Of BENJAMIN of Mount Nitria, who died of dropsy. Fol. 57^b.
13. Of APOLLONIUS the benevolent merchant. Fol. 58^a.
14. Of PAESIUS and ISAIAH, who were brethren by blood. Fol. 58^b.
15. Of MACARIUS, the child of his cross. Fol. 59^b.
16. Of NATHANIEL, who lived in a cell for 37 years. Fol. 60^b.
17. Of MACARIUS the Egyptian, the disciple of ANTHONY. Fol. 61^b.
18. Of MACARIUS of Alexandria, who visited the Garden of JANNES and JAMBRES. He is said to have healed a man of cancer in the head. Fol. 64^a.
19. Of PAUL THE SIMPLE, the disciple of Anthony. Fol. 68^b.
20. Of PACHOMIUS of Scete. Fol. 71^a.
21. Of STEPHEN the Libyan. Fol. 72^a.
[This History is followed by a note which declares the necessity of recording the histories of those who have fallen.]
22. Of WÂLÎS (VALENS) the Palestinian, who went mad. Fol. 73^a.
23. Of AHRÔN (HERO) the Alexandrian, who fell into a dissolute life and repented. Fol. 74^a.
24. Of PTOLEMY the Egyptian, who fell into a dissolute life and did not repent. Fol. 75^a.
25. Of ABRAHAM the Egyptian, who went mad. Fol. 75^a.

26. Of the virgin of Jerusalem who fell. Fol. 75^b.
27. Of a virgin of Caesarea who fell, and who brought a false accusation against a certain reader. Fol. 75^b.
28. Of a virgin who fell and repented. Fol. 76^a.
29. Of the virgin of Caesarea, who fell, and who could not bring forth her child, because she had made a false accusation against EUSTATHIUS, the reader. Fol. 76^b.
30. Of the blessed woman TĒHSIVĀ (THAISIS) Fol. 77^b.
31. Of ELIJAH, who built a nunnery near Thebes. Fol. 79^a.
32. Of DOROTHEOS, his successor. Fol. 80^a.
33. Of PACHOMIUS THE GREAT. His rules for his monastery of Tabenna.¹ Fol. 80^a.
34. Of the virgin of Alexandria who hid ATHANASIUS. Fol. 83^a.
35. Of PIAMON, the virgin and prophetess. Fol. 84^a.
36. Of AMMAN (*or*, EMMAN) TALIDĀ of Antinoë. Fol. 84^b.
37. Of TĪMİRŌN (TAOR) the virgin. Fol. 84^b.
38. Of the virgin who gave a copy of the "Stromata" of Clement to her abbess, and bequeathed a commentary on Amos the Prophet to the Bishop of Alexandria. Fol. 85^a.
39. Of the virgin and of MAGISTRINUS who fought with wild beasts for her sake. Fol. 85^b.
40. Of MELANIA the elder. Fol. 86^b.

¹ In Bedjan's *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. VII, this is followed by "AN APOLOGY, AND PREFACE, AND ADMONITION"; I have reprinted his text as [Chapter XXXIV].

41. Of MELANIA the younger. Fol. 89^a.
42. Of OLYMPIAS. Fol. 90^b.
43. Of CANDIDA. Fol. 92^a.
44. Of GELASIA. Fol. 92^b.
45. Of JULIANA. Fol. 92^b.
46. Of HERONION and his wife BOSPHORIA. Fol. 92^b.
47. Of MĀGHANĀ (MAGNĀ). Fol. 93^a.
48. Of [MISERICORS] of Ancyra. Fol. 93^b.
49. Of JOHN OF LYCUS. Fol. 94^b.
50. Of POSSIDONIUS the Theban. Fol. 96^b.
51. Of CHRONIUS of Phoenix. Fol. 97^b.
52. Of JAMES THE LAME and PAPHNUTIUS. Fol. 98^a.
[Mentions the death of CHAEREMON the ancho-
rite, and the deaths of two brethren, one
being killed by a fall of earth, and the other
by thirst].¹
53. Of DIOCLES the grammarian. Fol. 100^a.
54. Of KĀPĪTŌN (CAPITON). Fol. 100^b.
55. Of the monk who went mad. Fol. 100^b.
56. Of EPHRAIM, the deacon of Edessa. Fol. 101^a.
57. Of INNOCENT of the Mount of Olives. Fol. 101^b.
[He possessed a relic of John the Baptist.]
58. Of ELPIDIUS, the Cappadocian. Fol. 102^b.
59. Of EUSTATHIUS his brother. Fol. 103^a.
60. Of SISINNIUS, the disciple of ELPIDIUS. Fol. 103^a.
61. Of GADDANUS the Palestinian. Fol. 103^b.
62. Of ELIJAH who lived in a cave. Fol. 103^b.
63. Of SĀBHĀT (SABAS) of Jericho. Fol. 104^a.
64. Of SERAPION of the Girdle. Fol. 104^a.

¹ This History is incomplete in Lady Meux MS. No. 6; the missing portion is supplied from Bedjan's *Acta SS.* tom VII, as are the Histories of Solomon and Dorotheos.

65. Of EULOGIUS and the Arian. Fol. 107^a.
 "Here endeth the First Book of the Histories
 "of the Holy Fathers which were compiled
 "by Palladius."

III. THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF THE FATHERS
 AND MONKS WHICH WERE COMPILED BY PALLADIUS.
 Foll. 109^a—157^b.

1. Of MARK the monk. Fol. 109^a.
2. Of Mâr PAULUS (PAULE, *or*, PAWLE), the prince
 of monks. He buried Anthony with the help
 of two lions. Fol. 109^b.
 [At the end of the History "Jerome the
 sinner" entreats the prayers of his readers.
 This is followed by a note which says that
 some say the histories of Paule, Mark, and
 Macarius were compiled by JEROME.]
3. Of a youth of Alexandria.¹ Fol. 113^b.
4. Of an old man in Scete and his disciple.
 Fol. 116^b.
5. Of a certain disciple. Fol. 118^b.
6. Of a certain disciple. Fol. 118^b.
7. Of PETER. Fol. 119^b.
8. Of a certain disciple. Fol. 119^b.
9. Of AURELIUS (ADOLIUS) of Tarsus. Fol. 120^a.
10. Of MOSES the Indian, the captain of thieves.
 Fol. 120^b.
11. Of PÎOR the Egyptian. Fol. 122^a.
12. Of MOSES the Libyan. Fol. 122^b.
13. Of a certain wandering monk. Fol. 123^a.
14. Of EVAGRIUS of Pontus. Fol. 124^b.

¹ Delete the name Aurelius from the tops of pages 313-317
 of my translation.

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15. Of MARK (MALCHUS). Fol. 126^b.
 16^a. Of BESSARION. Fol. 131^b.
 17. The miracles of BESSARION. Fol. 132^b.
 18. Of the man who [possessed] nine virtues.
 Fol. 133^b.
 [In Bedjan's edition, after the story of the
 monk of the nine virtues, we have:—1. The
 History of MÂRÎÂ *or*, MARYÂNÂ. 2. Of a
 certain sage. 3. Of two Persian brethren.
 4. Of a certain virgin. 5. Of STEPHÂNÂ.²
 6. Of EUCARPUS. 7. Of a deacon in Egypt.
 8. Of a Bishop who fell. 9. Of a neighbour
 of Poemen. 10. Of a monk who denied
 Christ. 11. Of an old man in Scete. 12. Of
 SERAPION and the harlot. 13. Of the harlot
 and the sub-deacon. 14. Of Apollo in Scete.
 15. Of COSMAS. 16. Of MACARIUS who was
 falsely accused. 17. Of the Melchisedekian.
 18. Of Macarius the Egyptian.³]
 19. Of MARK THE LESS. Fol. 135^a.
 20. Of PAUL THE SIMPLE. Fol. 136^b.
 21. The Ἀσκητικόν of PACHOMIUS. Fol. 136^b-155^b.
 1. Of the discourse of THEODORE.
 2. Of SYLVANUS the actor who became a
 monk.
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¹ As Chapter XVI of my translation I have given renderings of a group of Histories of monks who went naked and lived with the beasts of the desert; the Syriac texts are from Bedjan, *op. cit.*, p. 251 ff.

² Probably a variant of the History of Stephen the Libyan already mentioned.

³ The translations of these Histories form Chapters XX-XXXVII of the Second Book in this edition.

3. Of the funeral of a sinner.
4. Of the funeral of a saint.
5. Of what PACHOMIUS heard the devils say.
6. Of PACHOMIUS and the cook.
7. Of the revelation to PACHOMIUS.
8. Of a second revelation.
9. Of a third revelation.
10. Of the Doctrine of PACHOMIUS.
11. Of PACHOMIUS and the wheat.
12. Of PACHOMIUS and the broker.
13. Of PACHOMIUS and the monk who wished to be a martyr.
14. Of PACHOMIUS and the phantom.
15. Of PACHOMIUS and the gift of tongues which he received.
16. Of PACHOMIUS and Yâwnân the gardener.
17. Of PACHOMIUS and his oratory.
18. Of PACHOMIUS and the heretics.
19. Of PACHOMIUS and the monk.
20. Of his contempt for vain glory.
21. Of the brother with tender hands.
22. Of the brother of PALLADIUS. Fol. 156^b.

IV. THE HISTORIES OF THE SOLITARY MONKS WHICH WERE
COMPOSED BY HIERONYMUS. Foll. 157^a-197^a.

1. The Author's Apology. Fol. 157^a.
2. Of JOHN OF LYCUS. Fol. 159^a.
3. Of Abbâ 'ÔR. Fol. 167^b.
4. Of Abbâ AMMON. Fol. 169^a.
5. Of Abbâ ABBÂN (BENUS). Fol. 169^a.
6. Of the brethren in OXYRHYNCHUS. Fol. 169^b.
7. Of Abbâ THEON. Fol. 170^a.
8. Of Abbâ ELIJAH. Fol. 170^b.
9. Of APOLLO (and AMMON). Fol. 171^a.

10. Of Abbâ APELLEN. Fol. 179^b.
 11. Of another APOLLO and of JOHN. Fol. 181^a.
 12. Of Abbâ PAPHNUTIUS. Fol. 182^b.
 13. Of Abbâ EULOGIUS. Fol. 185^a.
 14. Of Abbâ ISIDORE¹. Fol. 185^b.
 15. Of Abbâ COPRES and Abbâ PETARPEMÔTIS.
Fol. 186^a.
 16. Of ÔR, ISAIAH, PAUL and NÔPT, the con-
fessors. Fol. 191^a.
 17. Of EVAGRIUS. Fol. 191^b.
 18. Of PITHYRION. Fol. 192^a.
 19. Of the blessed Fathers. Fol. 192^b.
 20. Of the monks in Nitria. Fol. 193^b.
 21. Of AMMON the first. Fol. 194^a.
 22. Of another AMMON. Fol. 194^b.
 23. Of DIDYMUS. Fol. 195^a.
 24. Of CRONIUS. Fol. 195^a.
 25. Of three brethren. Fol. 195^a.
 26. Of PHILEMON. Fol. 195^b.
 27. Of JOHN of Decapolis. Fol. 195^b.
 28. Of SERAPION. Fol. 195^b.
 29. Of APOLLO the Martyr. Fol. 196^a.
- "Here end the Histories which were written
"by Hieronymus the monk."

V. THE COUNSELS OF THE HOLY OLD MEN, AND THE
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE BRETHREN. Foll.
197^b-350^b.

1. On fleeing from men, on the solitary life,
and on dwelling in the cell continually.
Compiled by Palladius. Nos. 1-62. Fol. 197^b.

¹ This History is followed by that of Dioscurus in Bedjan's
edition.

2. On FASTING and ABSTINENCE. Nos. 63-103. Fol. 205^a.
3. On VIGIL and PRAYER. Nos. 104-134. Fol. 209^b.
4. On WEEPING for sins. Nos. 135-156. Fol. 213^b.
5. On SELF-DENIAL. Nos. 157-181. Fol. 215^b.
6. On PATIENCE. Nos. 182-235. Fol. 218^b.
7. On SUBMISSION to God. Nos. 236-245. Fol. 226^b.
8. On the strict WATCHING of thoughts, &c. Nos. 246-386. Fol. 228^b.
9. On LOVE and CHARITY. Nos. 387-435. Fol. 247^b.
10. On HUMILITY. Nos. 436-547. Fol. 256^a.
11. On FORNICATION. Nos. 548-586. Fol. 269^a.
12. On the acceptance of REPENTANCE. Nos. 587-722. Fol. 275^a. Nos. 101-400. Fol. 295^a.
- 13-16. On SLUGGISHNESS, vain glory, &c. Fol. 333^b.
17. Sayings found by 'Anân-Īshō' in other books. Nos. 1-39. Fol. 341^b.
- 18-22. Miscellaneous Sayings, questions and answers, &c. Fol. 345^b.

With the above list of the contents of Lady Meux MS. No. 6 before us we are now able to consider Thomas of Margā's description of the contents of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension of the Book of Paradise. As Thomas says nothing about the life of Anthony the Great by Athanasius forming a part of it, we may assume that this was prefixed to it by some later editor or scribe who thought that the Histories of the monks of Egypt ought to be prefaced by a detailed account of the man who has commonly been regarded as the founder of Christian Egyptian asceticism. Thomas says that

the first volume of 'Anân-Īshō's Recension contained the Histories of ascetics both by Palladius and Jerome, and in the MS. we find that the first group of lives of the Fathers is called "PARADISE", and is attributed to PALLADIUS, that the second group is also said to have been compiled by PALLADIUS, and that the third group is attributed to HIERONYMUS, or JEROME. Thus it is quite clear that the three groups of lives in the MS. were those which formed the first volume of 'Anân-Īshō's "PARADISE" as described by Thomas, and that the large collection of about 1090 Sayings of the Fathers in the MS. represents the second volume of "PARADISE" as understood by Thomas.

The character of the three groups of lives and of the Sayings of the Fathers has been carefully discussed by Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER, who has arrived at the following conclusions:¹—

1. The second group of lives in reality contains very few sections by Palladius, and the ascription of that collection to him is incorrect; the histories in it which he attributes to Palladius are those of Mark, Eulogius, Adolius, Moses the Indian, Pior, Moses the Libyan, Evagrius, and the Brother who lived with him.

2. The first group of lives, which is called "PARADISE", more nearly represents the true LAUSIAC HISTORY of Palladius than the second; "of all the Syriac works "that went under the name of Palladius, the Lausiatic History alone is really his; and of the Lausiatic History, "properly so-called, two translations have occurred "among the several MSS. that have come under view, "but only one redaction; no reason has been met with

¹ *Lausiatic History*, p. 78.

"for suspecting the existence of any other redaction "among the Syrians. And (almost needless to add) "that redaction substantially agrees with the one which "has in these pages [*i. e.*, Mr. BUTLER'S] been known "as the short Recension (B).¹ Both Syriac versions "carry back this recension in its main features to the "early sixth, if not the fifth, century" (p. 95).

3. The third group of lives, which is attributed to Jerome by the Syrians in general, represents a Syriac version of the "History of the Monks in Egypt," which was originally written in Greek, perhaps by Timotheus, Archdeacon of Alexandria (p. 277), and translated into Latin by RUFINUS, between A.D. 400 and 410 (p. 13).

4. The Sayings of the Fathers, which according to Thomas of Margâ formed the second volume of 'Anân-Îshô's work, are not by Palladius; on the contrary, they are translations from Greek and Latin sources, and were collected by 'Anân-Îshô.

The conclusions stated in the above paragraphs are undoubtedly justified by the facts as we now know them, and they help to clear away many of the difficulties which have for generations surrounded Palladius and his Book of Paradise. There is reason to believe that when Dom CUTHBERT BUTLER and Dr. PREUSCHEN² have finished their labours on the Greek text of the Lausiac History we shall have an edition which will represent substantially the work as it originally appeared, early in the Vth century, and there are sufficient grounds for thinking that the Syriac version may prove to be

¹ See ROSWEYDE, *Vitae Patrum*, Appendix pp. 933-977.

² See his work already published, *Palladius und Rufinus*, Giessen, 1897.

a tolerably faithful rendering of the Greek. In any case, the reader has before him the full Syriac text of the copy of the Mōsul manuscript, and a fairly literal English translation of the same; it is to be hoped that the present edition will contribute to the elucidation of the history of one of the most remarkable phases of religious thought which the world has ever seen.

BY THE POWER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WE BEGIN TO
WRITE THE BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF THE GLORIOUS ACTS
OF THE HOLY FATHERS, [WHO WERE] MONKS OF THE
DESERT, AND WHO HATED THE WORLD AND ALL
THAT BELONGETH THERETO, WHICH WAS COM-
POSED BY THE HOLY MAN OF SPIRITUAL
EXCELLENCE MÂR PALLADIUS, BISHOP
OF THE CITY OF HELENOPOLIS,
AND WAS ADDRESSED TO
LAUSUS, THE PREFECT.

THE LIFE OF SAINT ANTHONY

BY

ATHANASIVS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

[Page 3] LET US BEGIN NOW, BY THE HELP OF OUR LORD, AND WRITE FIRST OF ALL THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTS OF THE SAINT AND MIGHTY ONE OF GOD, THE BLESSED MÂR ANTHONY, WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY SAINT ATHANASIVS, THE ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA. MAY OUR LORD HELP AND STRENGTHEN THE WRITER TO WRITE, AND [THE READER] TO READ AND TO PERFORM EVERYTHING WHICH IS COMMANDED [HEREIN]. AMEN. O LORD, HELP ME, AND BRING ME TO THE END [OF THE WORK]! AMEN.

Marvellous care and the merciful exhortation of your understanding for the monkish brethren who are in Egypt have moved me with solicitude [to hope] that by constant meditation on the following stories your mind may be drawn to perfection, so that you may not be repeating with your mouth[s] only these triumphs, and others which are like unto them, but that also in your persons you may be preachers of the example of these lives and deeds. Now, your careful solicitude is seemly and is most acceptable, and in this respect you have become ministers of the exalted Will, for it is right that this sight should not depart from the mirror of your career, and that ye should know at once the craftiness of the Enemy, that is to say, what form it taketh, and what it is, and with what it bringeth [a man] to nought. And this thing hath been wrought at this time by God, for behold, monasteries which

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flourish like the flowers and sweet scents of the spring-time have been scattered throughout the whole earth, and the sign of the solitary ascetics ruleth from one end thereof unto the other. It is then beautiful for us to take hold of and to embrace this power of discernment [Page 4] which your mind hath conceived, and to be the ministers of the fervour of your love with joy and solicitude. For who could be negligent of this service and be blameless, inasmuch as those who have invited me [to write] the history of the triumphs of a righteous man are themselves righteous? And may the Giver of gifts (blessed be His honour!) Himself open the door of our entreaty, and may we snare each one of the stories which we have been deputed by your love to write, not for our own sake, but for the sake of your most excellent entreaty, and for the sake of the warlike [thoughts] which are in you, that we may fulfil your labour, and for the sake of the work of him who triumphed by these acts and deeds, in order that his triumphs may never die among his sons in our Lord; and finally for his name's sake, that in this history we may also magnify the glory of God [and shew forth] how great is the might which He giveth unto those who fear Him.

Now, we have been deputed by your love to write down the triumphs of the blessed Anthony, and to send the history of them to you¹ in writing [which will shew] how the beginning of his discipleship came to pass, and what manner of life² he led before this, and with what manner of life he brought his days to a close, and whether all the words which have been spoken concerning him and have come to our hearing are true; and straightway with joy I have devoted myself to the fulfilment of your command. And in the mere writing of a commemorative history of the blessed

¹ Literally, "by the bringer of a letter".

² Literally, "what was his order before this".

Anthony I also shall gain great benefit, for I am convinced, O my beloved, that by the narrating of these histories two things will be effected; we shall increase the renown of the man of God in honour and wonder, and we shall begin to instruct your minds step by step,¹ for the acts of the blessed Anthony are a perfect example for the solitary ascetics. Now, as concerning what ye have heard about him aforetime, O my beloved, from those who [lived] with him, or [from those] who heard [them] from those who were with him continually, or from those also unto whom word of him was handed down by tradition [Page 5] ye shall have no doubt whatsoever. Ye have only heard a little out of a great quantity, and only just as much as the mind (*or*, memory) is able to narrate, and mine own mind also testifieth that such is the case, and in compiling the present history I have also learned that such is the case. For when I thought that I had collected and enumerated a large number of stories, suddenly a great many others, which were far more numerous than those which had already been collected by me, sprang up, and made my mind to swim;² but as many as I was able to remember and to collect my mind hath, with joy, committed to writing. And as for you, cease ye not to ask questions and to enquire [concerning the blessed Anthony], especially those who come by river from the Thebaïd, that is to say from Inner Egypt, for it may happen that from those from whom ye expect to hear nothing ye may increase your knowledge greatly. For when a man belongeth unto those who have knowledge he repeateth a story which he knoweth, and though we may think and be convinced that we have collected too many, [we find that our] narrative is immeasurably short. Now many of those who openly received [the accounts] of the wonderful things which

¹ Literally, "by measure".

² *I. e.*, overwhelmed and flooded his mind.

were wrought by his hands have departed from this world; and of those who are still living how many are there who have not revealed unto us concerning the things which were spoken with him or which were done near him! And what man would wish to narrate unto his companions only a few stories out of many?

And when I had received [your] letter, and had read and seen the force thereof, and what it demanded, I was wishful to send and bring certain solitary ascetics who were always with him, so that, peradventure, between them and me I might be able to fulfil your desire. But because the time in which ships could travel from Egypt to the Thebaïd, and from the Thebaïd hither, was unfavourable, and the bringer of the letter was in haste, and because I knew that I had been with Saint Anthony continually, I made it to be a care unto me to write myself unto your love, and tell you what I was able to learn about, whatsoever happened for a long time, and [how] I poured water upon [Page 6] his hands, observing carefully the word of the truth, lest a man should hear what was superfluous and should be in doubt, or should despise and belittle that which he heard.

Now, by race the blessed Anthony was an Egyptian, and he was descended from a noble family, and was, indeed, an owner of slaves. His forefathers were believers, and from his earliest childhood he was brought up in the fear of our Lord; and when he was a child and was being reared among his own kinsfolk he knew nothing of his father or of what went on among his own people. He was so quiet, and his mind was so humble that he did not even trouble his parents with the work of [asking] questions. He was exceedingly modest (*or* shamefaced), and he was honest beyond measure. He was unable to learn to read or to write because he could not bear the rough behaviour of the boys [in the school]; his whole desire was to be even according to what is written about Jacob, "He was a

simple man, and a dweller in tents".¹ He clung closely to his parents, and when they came to church he would [run] before them in the flow of his affection, and he was not like an [ordinary] child, the course of whose customary attendance is broken by the play hour of childhood,² and he never neglected [the observance of] any of the seasons of the Church; he neither neglected [them] in his childhood, nor held them lightly in his early manhood. And from the time when he was a child and knew how to distinguish between good and evil, his going to church was not a mere matter of custom, but was [the result of] discerning understanding. And moreover, he did not wait for his own people (*or* parents) to be admonishers unto him, because by his life and acts he became a teacher unto them. For they learned by the experience [of] his childhood that he did not live among them like an ordinary simple child, and they accepted the proof of the rectitude of his early manhood; he paid them honour after the manner of a full-grown man, and they regarded him as the master of the house (*i. e.*, steward).

Now when the time had arrived and they brought their days to an end, [Page 7] and they departed from this world, he was left behind with one little sister, when he was about eighteen or twenty years old, and it happened from sheer necessity that he had to be the ruler of the house and of his sister. And when as yet not six months had passed since the death of his parents, and when, according to his wont, he was continually in the church, it came to pass one day when he was in the church that a righteous idea entered his mind, and that he began to meditate within himself how the blessed Apostles forsook everything and followed after our Redeemer; and how the others who succeeded them and walked in their footsteps

¹ Genesis XXV. 27.

² Or, "the amusement of youth".

sold everything which they possessed and laid [the money which they received] at the feet of the Apostles, that it might be spent upon the poor; and how great was the blessing of those who had in this wise obeyed the voice of our Redeemer. Now whilst he was meditating these and such like things, the Lesson was being read, and at the end of all [the passages from] the Scriptures, the Gospel was read, and he heard our Lord Who said unto the rich man, "If thou wishest to "be perfect, go and sell everything which thou hast, "and give to the poor, and take thy cross, and come "after Me, and there shall be unto thee treasure in "heaven".¹ And the blessed Anthony received the word of the Gospel as a sign, and he reflected that this reading had not taken place as a matter of chance, but in order that the righteous idea which had taken up its abode in him might be confirmed. And straightway he went out from the church, and departed and set in order his house and the possessions which he had inherited from his parents. Now he had three hundred fields, a great estate [which produced] abundant crops, and these he remitted to the people of his village, so that they might trouble neither himself nor his sister; but the remainder of his other possessions which were in [Page 8] the house he sold, and gathered in money not a little, which he distributed among the poor, but he laid by a little which was sufficient for his sister's wants.

And when, on another First Day of the week, he had again entered the church at the time of [the reading of] the Gospel, he inclined his ear carefully to see what word would come forth for him; and as he was inclining his ear the word of our Lord to His disciples was immediately read out, saying, "Take no thought "for the morrow".² And straightway he received the

¹ St. Matthew XIX. 21.

² See St. Matthew VI. 25, 31, 34; St. Mark XIII. 11; St. Luke XII. 11, 22.

commandment readily, and he went out and distributed that which remained to him for his sister among the poor. Now unto his sister he spake words of love, and of truth, and of the fear of God, and he made her mind to be after the manner of his own; and he delivered her over to certain chaste nuns who were to be found at that time. And when he had made an end of these things he forthwith became a solitary monk, and he took no care for anything whatsoever except his soul, and he began to train himself in the strictest abstinence and self-denial. Now he dwelt alone in a house which was by the side of the village, for as yet there were no monasteries for ascetics in Egypt, and among the monks there was no man who had any knowledge of the inner desert; but everyone who wished to have a care for his soul used to seek out a habitation of this kind. Saint Anthony did not betake himself to the mountain at a great distance from the village, but only at a sufficient distance therefrom so that he might be somewhat apart from the habitation of men. And at that time there was in another village on their borders a certain blessed old man, who from his youth up had lived a life of solitary asceticism, and this man the blessed Anthony saw, and was envious¹ of his fair deeds. First of all he also began to live by the side of the village, in places which were free from the feet [of men], and whilst living in this abode his mind was rent with doubt about the fair works [of the ascetic life], and he gave his soul no rest, for he was constant [Page 9] in meditation about the truth. And he used to ponder within himself [and say], "How did 'the righteous men of old live? With what manner of 'triumphs did they please God? And who can make 'me worthy of even a sight of these?" And as a result of this meditation which arose from love of the righteous men he began to ask and enquire, "What was the

¹ *I. e.*, he wished to emulate his beautiful works.

"condition of the righteous men? And who shall inform me concerning them?" And whilst asking questions that he might learn something about any of the righteous men who were in [that] place, in the fervour of his love he used to go forth strenuously to seek him;¹ and he did not at first return to his own place, without first of all accepting the person of the man of God. And he was like unto the wise bee which hovereth and resteth over plants of every kind which are filled with honey that it may fill its habitation with the goodness of the earth. In this manner he himself also received from the sight of each of the righteous men provision² for the marvellous way; and thus was his mode of life at the beginning of his ascetic career. And his thoughts were exceedingly well trained by him at the beginning of his [life of] righteousness, so that he might not in any wise be anxious about his family, or be fettered by the love of kinsfolk, or be held fast by the affairs of this temporary life; from all [these] he purged himself that he might be a pure offering unto God. Now he used also to labour with his hands, because he had heard [the words], "If a man doth not work he shall not eat;"³ with a very little [of the produce] of the work of his hands he used to provide himself with food, and the rest he spent upon the poor. And he prayed continually, for he had heard [the words], "Pray, and let it not be tedious unto you;"⁴ and he was wont to listen to the reading of the Scriptures in such wise that not one word might fall to the ground, and henceforth he kept in his mind the remembrance of the commandments which he heard, and they became unto him even as the Scriptures.

Now by these acts and deeds the blessed Anthony

¹ *I. e.*, the old man mentioned above.

² Read *ἵσθαι*.

³ 2 Thessalonians III. 10.

⁴ 1 Thessalonians V. 17.

was shewing love to his soul and, [Page 10] even as it is written, "He found favour with God and with "man;"¹ for when it happened that he went [to visit] the righteous men, he hearkened unto them and was subject unto them wholly and in everything, and the love with which they loved him was such that if it happened that he tarried in paying his visit to them they were wont to send after him with anxious care. They observed how greatly he was the object of [God's] mercy, and how great a measure of the love of the things which were spiritual was found with him, and they saw how easy it was for him to gain a reward by trafficking in the riches of heaven. Therefore each one of them, according to the measure of his power, took him by his hand. And they looked and saw that he was to be perfected as a chosen vessel, and they observed when as yet he himself saw it not that he had adapted for himself a glorious rule of life among the righteous men. For what joy is there unto which graciousness is not found to be yoked? Or what humility is there wherewith those who possess it are adorned in which it doth not dwell? Or what love is there, which is the foundation of all the commandments, which it doth not rule? And what man is there who, when he imagineth himself to be merciful, is not carried away thereby, and with whom it is not the chief thing? Wrath, and jealousy, and calumny as from him²

Now Saint Anthony was the storehouse of fasting, and of prayer, and of ascetic practices, and of patient endurance, and of love, and of righteousness, which is the mother of [them] all, but towards those who were young monks like himself he was not envious, except in one matter only, that is to say, he would not be second to any of them in fair works. And he con-

¹ St. Luke II. 52.

² The text is defective here.

trived in every possible manner not to give offence to the wicked man, on the contrary, [he wished] that those who were yoked together with him might be drawn to his opinion (*or* mind) by his carefulness and graciousness, and that they might go forward¹ in their career. And he worked matters in such a manner that they were not only not envious of him, but they [Page 11] rejoiced in him and gave thanksgiving for him. Now by reason of these triumphs every man used to call him "Theophilus", which is, being interpreted, "God-loving", and all the righteous gave him this name; and some of them loved him like a brother, and some of them like a son.

And when the Enemy, the hater of the virtues and the lover of evil things, saw all this great perfection in the young man, he could not endure it, and he surrounded himself with his servants,² even as he is wont to do, and began [to work] on Anthony; at the beginning of his temptations he approached him with flattery, and cast into him anxiety as to his possessions, and solicitude and love for his sister, and for his family, and his kinsfolk, and the love of money, and lusts of various kinds, and the [thought of the] rest [of the things] of the life of [this] world, and finally of the hard and laborious life which he lived, and of the weakness of body [which would come upon him] with the lapse of time; and, in short, he stirred up in him the power of the thoughts so that by means of one [or other] of them he might be flattered, and might be made to possess shortcomings and be snared by his incitements.

Now when the Enemy saw that his craftiness in this matter was without profit, and that the more he brought temptation unto Saint Anthony the more strenuous he was in arming himself against him with

¹ *I. e.*, make progress.

² Reading ၁၇၀၆၁၃.

the armour of righteousness, he attacked him with the vigour of early manhood which is bound up in the nature of our humanity, and with the incitements of passion he used to trouble him by night,¹ and in the day time also he would vex him and pain him with the same to such an extent that even those who saw him knew from his appearance that he was waging war against the Adversary. But the more the Evil One brought unto him filthy and maddening thoughts the more Saint Anthony took refuge in prayer and in abundant supplication, and amid them [all] he remained wholly chaste. And the Evil One was working [upon him] every shameful deed according to his wont, and at length he even appeared [Page 12] unto Saint Anthony in the form of a woman, and the rest of the things which appertain unto pride he was performing readily.

But the blessed Anthony knelt down upon his knees on the ground, and prayed before Him Who said, "Before thou criest unto Me I will answer thee";² and said, "O my Lord, this I entreat of Thee; let not Thy love be blotted out from my mind, and behold, I am, by Thy grace, innocent before Thee." And again the Enemy multiplied in him the thoughts of lust until Saint Anthony became as one utterly burnt up, not through the Evil One, but through himself; but he girded himself about with the threat of the thought of the Judgment, and of the torture of Gehenna, and of the worm which dieth not. And whilst meditating on thoughts which were against the Evil One, he prayed for thoughts which would be hostile to him. Thus, to the reproach and shame of the Enemy, these things could not be performed; for he who imagined that he could be [as] God was made a mock of by a young man, and he who boasted [of his power] over

¹ Read **جالد**.

² Isaiah LXV. 24.

flesh and blood was vanquished by a man who was clothed with flesh.

Now in all these things our Lord, Who put on a [human] body for our sakes, was his helper, and He strengthened him to become a shield against the Evil One, so that according to this act of grace which was wrought on our behalf, before any of the blessed men lived by the merit of his agony He taught us in what it is meet that we should boast. For when one repeated too often these triumphs which were wrought for him, Saint Anthony answered and said, "It was not I who "worked, but His grace which was with me." Now when the Enemy saw that he was vanquished in this fight, and that his craftiness was driven away and brought to nought by the thought (*or* mind) of the righteous man, he gnashed his teeth, and cried out that he would shew the righteous man his inner nature in an external form, that, peradventure, by means of fear and terror he might find an opportunity to perform his will. And he appeared unto Saint Anthony in the form of an Indian youth, and he began to say unto him, "Whom seest thou? I have come, and behold I "will stand up, and I will overcome thee, and I will "bring thee low, even as I do many." And whilst he was saying [Page 13] these words, the blessed Anthony signed himself with the Sign of the Cross, and ceased to tremble, and the Enemy saw the Sign of the Cross, and straightway was terrified. And when the blessed Anthony saw that he was terrified, he began to ask him a question, saying, "Who art thou, by "whose voice such words as these are heard by me?" Then the Enemy began [to say] unto him after the manner of a man who roareth, "I, even I, am the "lover of error and of fornication, and it is I who "cast the incitements of these [thoughts] and flatteries "[into the mind of man]. It is I who have taken "upon myself to lead many astray, and I fight against "every man, and I am against righteousness, and I

"am, even as the Prophet called me, the 'spirit of 'fornication';¹ for through me have gone astray all "those who have stumbled. It is I who have injured "thee on several occasions, and thou hast been held in "contempt [by me] in everything." And the blessed Anthony gave thanks unto the Lord, and gained great encouragement, and said, "What power thinkest thou "that thou hast in thee, O Enemy, to resist the might "of the Cross? Well hast thou appeared in the form "of an Indian, for thou art black in thy nature, and "thou art feeble in thy strength even like a youth who "hath been overcome by punishment. Thou art esteemed "as nought by me, and I tremble not at thy wiles; for "the Lord helpeth me, and I shall look upon mine "enemies." Now when that black being heard these words, straightway his appearance vanished from the sight.

This is the first strife which Saint Anthony [waged] against his Enemy, or rather, this is the first assistance which came on behalf of Anthony from our Redeemer, Who vanquished sin in His own body, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, and that we might not walk after the flesh but after the spirit. But although the blessed Anthony saw the Enemy made powerless and brought low, he neither neglected his prayer nor ceased from his [wonted] course [of life], for he knew well that his contest was against a crafty being, who although he had been vanquished would not cease [to trouble], and who, whenever he could find an opportunity through some small negligence, would suddenly rise up and vanquish [Page 14] him that had on several occasions gained the victory over him. For Saint Anthony knew that there was no cessation to his wrongdoing, and that he wandered about like a roaring lion seeking whom he might break; and he had learned from the Scrip-

¹ Hosea IV. 12.

tures that the snares of the Adversary were many, and he was persuaded of himself that his work was thus, and with strenuousness and with an object he was working in the fear of God.

And he pondered in his mind that although the Enemy had not been able to snare him with lusts of divers kinds, he had still other means (*or* causes) whereby he was wont to make our humanity to sin; for the nature thereof yearneth to sin always. Now it is especially right for us in the time of our victory, when we have our mind with us, to oppress and bring our body into subjection to the will of freedom and of righteousness, lest whilst we are imagining that we are victors [in one group of things] we find that we are vanquished by others which are their opposite. And Saint Anthony was in this mind, and [he was meditating] these thoughts always, and day by day he was adding labour unto his former deeds of asceticism; and many were wondering at the greatness of the patient endurance which he possessed, and how long-suffering he was in his afflictions. For behold, the freedom of his spirit (*or* soul), and the thought of his mind, by reason of the great length [of time] which they were practised by him, as it were renewed him, and changed him from one thing to another; and he used to derive [as] a base some small matter from the example of others, and take it and polish it in his own person, and with him it became so beautiful that the spectators thereof imagined that it was to be found with him alone. For he was a perfect handicraftsman in matters which related to the fear of God, and wheresoever he saw that one of the heavenly works¹ of uprightness was being practised by a man who was not honouring it according to what it was, he would take it, and polish it in his own person, and would make manifest how great its beauty was.

¹ Read **ⲉⲛⲁⲓ**.

And Saint Anthony kept vigil to the utmost, [Page 15] and to such an extent that the greater number of his days dawned on him without his having had any sleep. He was wont to eat at eventide daily, but on occasions he passed three days, or four days, or whole weeks at a time [without eating]. His food was bread and salt, and his drink was water, and in the matter of wine, and flesh, and other dainty meats he declared [them] to be so superfluous, that they were not even used by ordinary monks. What he slept upon was a mat made of palm leaves only, but for a very long time he used to make the bare ground his bed. He was, moreover, exceedingly careful not to anoint himself with oil, for he used to say that oil rendered the body soft and made the members thereof effeminate, and for this reason [he] required young men to distil upon themselves from their minds within the oil of strenuousness. He was also mindful of the word of the Apostle which he spake, saying, "When I am weak (*or* sick), then am I strong."¹ And he possessed a wonderful mind, for he never pondered and thought how far he had advanced in discipleship, but each day he kept in mind that he had only just begun at the beginning thereof; for he remembered the word of the Apostle which he spake, "That which is behind me I forget, and I stretch forward unto the things which are before me,"² and also the word of the Prophet Elijah which he spake, "As the Lord liveth, before Whom I stand this day."³ Therefore he prepared himself to be worthy to stand always before the Majesty, even as the man who stood on that day before the Lord; and he used to say to himself, "It is right that a monk should know that in his manner of life (*or*, habitation) and in his acts and deeds he must be an

¹ 2 Corinthians XII. 10.

² Philippians III. 13.

³ 1 Kings XVII. 1.

alien unto the world, and an associate (*or* son of the yoke) of the angels who watch.¹

And after these things he dwelt also in another frame of mind, and, having pondered in his mind that he would go forth from the village, he departed and took up his abode in a tomb which was situated in a mountain which lay close by the village;² and he commanded one of [Page 16] his acquaintances to bring him a morsel of bread from time [to time].³ And having done these things and entered into the tomb and shut the door upon himself, straightway the Adversary, together with a multitude of devils who were his associates, burst in upon him there, for he was afraid to let Saint Anthony go from the village altogether, and he began to say unto him, "How great is that which thou endurest! And to what limit wilt thou drive thyself? Thou hast come and hast entered into the place of our abode. What man is there who hath ever done the like? And when⁴ was it ever heard that men ought to live among the tombs? We have been driven out of the village, and we shall also be driven out from among the tombs. Now therefore will we take vengeance upon thee, for it is thou who hast made fools of us." Then they began to smite him with blows, and they smote him so severely that at length he fell [on the ground], and nothing but his breath was left in him; and Saint Anthony used to relate that the blows with which the devils smote him were more severe than those of the children of men. But God brought help unto him, and would not deliver him over to death, for He put it into the mind of him that used to visit him to come quickly, and to open [the door of] the tomb according

¹ The "Watchers" were one of the nine orders of angels.

² *I. e.*, in the cemetery which belonged to the village.

³ Read *حينئذٍ لا بد* "now and then".

⁴ Literally "where".

to his wont, and he saw the blessed Anthony who was like unto a dead man by reason of the blows; and straightway he lifted him up and brought him to the church in the village. And there collected about him no small mass of people, and they gathered together and sat by his side as if he had been a dead man. Now by the sweet rest of sleep the blessed Anthony was refreshed, [and he was relieved] from his affliction, and he came to himself, and he turned round and saw that all the people were asleep, and that only his friend who was sitting watching by his pillow was awake; and he made a sign to him, and he drew nigh unto him, and Saint Anthony said unto him quietly, "Come, do [an act of] righteousness (*or* charity) lest the heart of the people should think and mankind should imagine that there is still power left in the Evil One, and that they should be afraid to lift up the heel against him."

And the man hearkened unto him, and whilst the people were quiet [Page 17] and asleep, he lifted him up and carried him to the tomb, and shut the door as usual. Then Saint Anthony prayed as he was lying down, for he had no power in him to stand up, and when he had multiplied [his] prayers, he said with a loud voice, "Where are ye, O children of Gehenna? Here am I, even I, Anthony, and I will not depart from this place until your destruction from this place shall be [effected]: for although ye multiply tortures I shall not be remote from the love of Christ." And next he said with a loud voice, "Though a whole camp [of devils] encamp against me my heart shall not fear;" such were the words which this man, this athlete, proclaimed in his striving. Then the heart of the Enemy of righteousness melted within him, and he cried unto the dogs his kinsfolk, and whilst emitting smoke said unto them, "Do ye not say unto me, What shall we do unto this man, this insolent fellow, who hath treated us wholly with contempt and disdain?"

b*

"His heart is not afraid of the quaking terror, his hearing is not perturbed by words (*or* voices), his eye is not terrified by visions, and his body hath no fear of blows. Who among you can give [me] counsel "as to what shall be done?" And thereupon they contrived the following plan.

Now it is very easy for the Enemy to make apparitions and appearances of such a character that they shall be deemed real and actual objects, and [straightway] phantasms of this kind made the similitude of an earthquake, and they rent asunder the four corners of the house, and they entered therein in a body from all sides. One had the form of a lion, and another had the appearance of a wolf, and another was like unto a panther, and all the others were in the forms and similitudes of serpents, and of vipers, and of scorpions. The lion was roaring as a lion roareth when he is about to slay; the bull was ready to gore [him] with his horns; the panther was prepared to spring [upon him]; and the snake and the viper were hissing, and they appeared to be in the act of hurling themselves upon him; and the sounds which they made and the forms in which they shewed themselves were terrible. Now the blessed man Anthony was not disturbed (*or*, frightened) by their commotion, and his mind remained in an unruffled condition.¹ And as he was lying down he laughed [Page 18] at these phantoms, and said, "Thus there is no power in you. Ye have "taken unto yourselves the forms of wild beasts, and "if there had been any power whatsoever to do harm "in you, for one of you only to come [against me] "would have been sufficient; but because our Lord hath "cut off the things which incited you, and the goad "of your wickedness hath no strength therein, ye lay "plots and snares thinking that peradventure ye will be "able to make men quake by fear only. And moreover,

¹ Literally, "without tempests."

"whosoever hath had experience of your feebleness
"[knoweth] that ye have obtained as your helpers the
"mere forms and appearances of wild beasts."

And Anthony also spake unto them in very great boldness of heart, saying, "If ye have indeed received
"power over me, or if it be in your power to do me
"harm, hesitate ye not to do it, only draw nigh speedily
"and do ye whatsoever ye lust to do; but if ye be
"unable to do anything, wherefore do ye weary your-
"selves in vain? For our faith in our Lord is a seal
"and a wall unto us." Now our Lord was not unmindful of the athlete Anthony, and He appeared unto him after his victory. And the blessed Anthony lifted up his eyes, and he saw a roof-curtain drawn aside, and a ray of light descended therefrom upon him; and straightway the devils dispersed in terror, and the sufferings of his body were relieved, and the blessed man felt the help of our Lord [nigh unto him], and understood.

Then having waited for a space, and having recovered somewhat from his tribulations, and having enjoyed rest from the graciousness of the revelation of our Lord, he lifted up his voice, and said, "O my Lord, I adore
"Thine help: where wast Thou before these sufferings
"and tribulations came upon me?" And straightway a voice came to him, saying, "Here was I by thy side,
"O Anthony, and I have never left thee, for I remained
"that I might look upon thy strife; but inasmuch as
"thou hast triumphed completely, and hast not been
"broken down with sadness in thy tribulations, I will be
"unto thee a Guide and a Comforter, and I will make
"thee to be renowned as a faithful servant throughout
"all the earth." And when these words had been heard by him straightway [peace] came upon his body, [Page 19] and he had rest from his afflictions. Then he rose up and bowed the knee, and prayed, and gave thanks unto God Who had visited him; and from that time onwards he perceived that he had very much greater

strength in him than formerly. Now at that time Anthony was about five and thirty years of age.

And it came to pass that on the following morning he departed from the tomb and went forth to that solitary old monk who used to dwell by the side of the village, and he tried to persuade him to go with him to the desert, but he excused himself from this, for one thing because of his old age, and for another because he had not been in the habit of living in the desert, and indeed at that time none of the monks lived there. And straightway Anthony rose up and prayed with the old man, and he besought him to join his prayers unto his that God might make his way prosperous before him; and [afterwards] he went forth [alone] into the desert. And once again the Enemy went forth after him, and when Anthony was exhausted by reason of the distance [of the way], he began to contend with him. Now when the blessed man Anthony had journeyed along the road [and had arrived] at the skirt of the desert, he perceived that the Enemy had cast down before him a large silver tablet,¹ but the blessed man knew that these things were of the wiles of the Evil One, and he made him to know that this example of his handicraft which had been fashioned by him could not cause him to err. And looking at the tablet he answered and said, "Assuredly the Evil One [wisheth to do me evil] by means of this tablet. "How can it have come in the desert? This is no "frequented road, and there is no inhabited land near, "and thieves do not dwell in this country; it is the "handiwork of the Evil One. Thou shalt not, O [Enemy], "pervert my mind by this thing; may thou and it go "to perdition." And having made an end of his words the silver tablet was consumed and disappeared like smoke before the fire of the words of the blessed man Anthony.

¹ Or, plate.

But again the Evil One shewed him some gold, and it was real gold, and Anthony fell into anxious thought and pondered, [saying], "What is this thing? "It is either a piece of the handiwork of the Evil One, "or it is a temptation from God, and a trial [Page 20] from "Him (may His Honour be blessed!) Who hath restrain- "ed me from the blandishments of the Evil One, [who "saith], Behold, I will shew him real gold;" but the blessed man was not overthrown thereby, and he esteemed the gold as filth. [And Anthony said unto the Evil One], "Choose thou some other kind of handi- "work and snare, for out of this one have I delivered "myself." Now whence that gold came or how it got there Anthony telleth us not, and we, even after most careful thought are unable to afford any information on the matter; but [what Anthony saw] was gold, and gold in large quantities, for the blessed man marvelled at the great abundance thereof.

Now when the Evil One saw that he had protected himself by the Sign of the Cross and was praying, and that he did not remove himself from his place, he stepped aside and passed away quickly in the form of a flame of fire, and he neither turned nor looked at him. And Anthony was particularly well armed for this species of warfare and [he fought] valiantly, and he set out again on the road whereon he had been travelling. And having arrived at the desert he went up into a mountain wherein there were serpents; but inasmuch as the snakes found there were very numerous, he departed from that place and came to the border [of the desert] to dwell¹ and took up his abode there. And the snakes, which were there when the righteous man set his foot upon that spot, speedily gave place unto him, and each one of them made the greatest possible haste to escape from him, as if he had been one whose

¹ The text is probably corrupt here.

smell was distracting to them, and they knew that this man was not [one] of the people of that country.

Now therefore the blessed man Anthony took up his abode there by himself, and he shut himself in; and he laid in a supply of bread once every six months (for the Egyptians were in the habit of making at one time bread sufficient even for a whole year), and as for water he found that there. And he went and dwelt there in a place which was like a cleft in the rocks, with the intention of seeing no man and of being seen by none, and he had his abode there for very many years; in the roof of his house there was a small opening, and through this he used to receive [bread] twice yearly, for the mountain wherein he dwelt was [remote] from inhabited land. Such people as came to him [Page 21], whom he could not be induced to admit into his presence remained outside, perhaps for one or two days, and when they strained their ears that they might hear something, they would hear a noise like that of a mighty multitude of people, and confused sounds, and some sounds were like the voices of men shouting loudly, and some were great cries of lamentation, and some were those of men of slaughter and of a mighty tumult. And among all these was a voice which said, "Depart thou from us! Why hast thou come to our country and to [cause] our death? Hast thou never heard that which thy Lord spake concerning us, saying, "Evil spirits dwell in the desert, and in waste places, "and in the lands wherein there is no water? Behold, "henceforward thou shalt know that this is our habitation; "depart thou, and give place unto us once more."

And when these words were heard those who were outside [Anthony's dwelling] thought that men had entered therein through the roof of [his] house and that they were quarrelling with him; but when they had gone round about the house they found a small opening(?)¹

¹ The text has *بَابُ* "basilisk"; read *بَابُ* (?)

in the wall, and having looked through it they saw the blessed man alone. Then they understood that those voices were those of the devils who used to wage war against him, and mighty dread came upon them, and they began to cry out to the blessed man Anthony. Now the just man was more ready to hearken unto their words than unto the tumult of the devils, and to hold converse with them, and he would draw nigh to the side of the door, and say unto them, "Come ye nigh unto me, and be not perturbed;" and having conversed with them graciously, and filled their hearts, he would dismiss them in peace, and admonish them, saying, "Be ye afraid neither of sounds (*or*, "voices) nor of phantoms of this kind, for in this wise "the devils are wont to act towards those who are "timid; but seal ye yourselves with the Seal of the "Cross, and return ye unto your homes in confidence "and forgive those who make you laughingstocks." Thus they were dismissed in peace. And as for Anthony himself he had dwelt in strife with the devils for a long time past, and was very courageous, and the strength which was in him was added to in proportion as [Page 22] he saw that his enemies were vanquished.

Now when the report of the kind of strife in which he lived reached his friends and acquaintances, they set out to go to him, for they thought that they would certainly find him dead;¹ and, having arrived at the place where they wished to be, they came to the side of his house, and inclined their ears at the door that peradventure a sound or breathing might be heard inside. And they heard a sound like the voice of one who played a harp and said, "Let God arise, and let "all His enemies be scattered, and let all those who "hate Him flee before Him; let them be destroyed "even as smoke is made to disappear, and as wax "melteth before the fire let the wicked perish before

¹ Read *q̄q̄q̄*.

“God.”¹ And again, “All the nations compassed me round about, and in the Name of the Lord I destroyed them.”² And the blessed Anthony lived in this habitation about twenty years.

And it came to pass that in the process of time his fame reached all the monks who were in Egypt, and all the other folk therein who did not lead the life of the ascetic and recluse, and men of distinction, and monks in Egypt began to come unto him in large numbers; the Egyptian monks came that they might copy the manner of his life and deeds, and the laity came that he might pray over them, and might heal certain of them of their sicknesses. One day, when a multitude of people had come there in a body [to see him], and they had besought him repeatedly [to speak to them], and he had answered them never a word, they lifted the door out of its socket, and threw themselves down on their faces before him, and made supplication unto him and pacified him, and then each man among them stood up, and made known his request unto him. And having gone forth [to them], even like a man who goeth forth from the depths of the earth, they saw that his appearance was like unto that of an angel of light, and they marvelled why it was that his body had not been weakened by all his confinement, and why it was that his understanding had not become feeble, and why, on the contrary, his appearance, and his bodily stature, and his countenance were then as they had known them always to have been in the times which were past. Now when he saw [Page 23] a large concourse of people he was not disturbed, and when they brought their petitions unto him he was not moved to impatient anger, but he remained in a placid and thoughtful state, for the Living Word was unto him a guide. Among those who

¹ Psalm LXVIII. 1, 2.

² Psalm CXVIII. 10.

came unto him there were many who were indeed very sorely afflicted, and our Lord healed them by the hand of the blessed man; and moreover, God gave him such a measure of grace in his speech that every man was wholly gratified thereat, for those who were in affliction and distress were encouraged to endure thereby, those who were occupied with contention were quieted thereby, those who were afflicted sorely became longsuffering, the haughty were made humble thereby, and the arrogant were brought low thereby, in order that every man might learn the doctrine of righteousness. For he used to say, "That we 'should possess anything besides Christ is unnecessary,'¹ and we should not esteem anything of value besides the love of Christ, neither possessions, nor kinsfolk, not even our soul itself. For if God did not spare His Son, but delivered Him up on account of our sins, how much the more is it right for us, having tasted and known Divine grace, to give our souls, not on His behalf, for such a thing is not required from us, but on behalf of our own lives." By these words he used to persuade many to withdraw themselves from this world and from the worry thereof, and to take refuge in a habitation of monks.

And he began to increase from that time with Christ in simple-mindedness, and in love towards strangers, and in longsuffering; now these things not only go with us, but they also go before us, and they make ready for us a place in the country of the humble and meek, and no man should lack them, especially when he knoweth the will of his Lord, and that he is bound to prepare himself according to His will. Would any servant dare to stand before his master's face and say unto him, "Yesterday I toiled, but to-day I have done nothing at all?" Or, have we not heard what our

¹ *I. e.*, if we possess Christ it is unnecessary to possess anything else, and compared with His love nothing is of value.

Lord said in the Gospel, "When a servant hath toiled nobly, and hath laboured in the work which is outside, "as soon as he hath gone inside he shall weave a "place for his hands [Page 24] and shall minister unto "his Lord, and then happiness shall be his?" Now, since we have heard these things from the Divine Books, what reason can we have for being without the fear of God? Was it not for this that Ezekiel the Prophet was made a watchman? Did not Judas, because of the one night wherein he wrought wickedness, lose the labour of all his days?

Let us continue to be strenuous then, O children of our profession, and let it not become wearisome unto us, for our Lord hath been made a Guide unto us and unto every man who hath a desire for the virtues. And that it may not be tedious unto us the blessed Paul became an example unto us aforetime, and said, "I die daily."¹ Now if we were to think that we had to die daily we should never sin at all, and this is the explanation of the word which was spoken. If when it is morning we were to imagine that we should never arrive at the evening, and if also when it is evening we thought that we should never arrive at the morning: by this thought also the nature of our life would teach us that it is not a matter for confidence. If therefore we prepare our mind in this manner, and if we live with this thought therein, we should never be overcome by sin, and the lust of time would not reign over us, and we should not keep anger against a fellow creature of flesh, and we should not love the possessions which pass away, and we should forgive every man who offended us. And the lust for women would die in the heart, for how could it be ministered unto? For at all times every thing which is greater than its fellow overcometh its fellow, and the fear of God exalteth itself above everything.

¹ I Corinthians XV. 31.

Now therefore, O my beloved, let us be zealous in carrying out the work whereunto we have once bound ourselves, and let us travel to the end on the road whereon we have begun to journey, and let no man among us look behind him, lest we be like unto the wife of Lot.¹ It is not easy for him that shall turn behind him, after he hath received the doctrine of righteousness, to enter into the kingdom of heaven; he that turneth back, whatsoever be the way in which he turn, will repent of what he hath done, and he will turn to the elements of this world, even as [Page 25] a dog to his vomit. Be ye therefore not afraid as if ye were carrying a heavy burden, for the burden of our Lord is easy and light unto those who desire it; if therefore we have the desire everything is easy unto us. The children of this world travel over the seas and make journeys across difficult countries in order that they may learn profane wisdom, in the doctrine of which the means of righteousness is not employed, and in the praise of which there is no profit of life; but we are not wanted either to set out on a journey or to travel on the sea for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, for our Lord declared aforetime, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is within you."² So therefore, O my beloved, life is in our own hands to gain, for it is within us, and it is ministered unto by us. For the soul by its nature possesseth the perception of the understanding, and therefore our soul hath knowledge of what our life is; it is prepared by the nature of its creation, and is ready for everything which it wisheth. Therefore also Joshua, the son of Nun, commanded the people, saying, "Prepare your hearts before the God of Israel;"³ and John also said, "Prepare your ways."⁴ Now when

¹ Genesis XIX. 26.

² St. Luke XVII. 21.

³ Joshua XXIV. 23.

⁴ St. Luke III. 4.

the Book decreeth the preparation of the soul, it wisheth that the rectitude of the nature of its first creation shall be in it, but when it goeth forth from its limit it is condemned by the Book like the Evil One. Therefore the matter is not a difficult one unto us. For, if we remain in that wherein we were created from the beginning, life is in us and with us; and our mind also condemneth us when it thinketh evil and hath envy of the thoughts, and bringeth forth a deed of injury in an unseemly manner. Everything, therefore, is given into our own power to do, and there is no master set over us to command us what we shall do; moreover, there is no man who can restrain us either from thinking or doing fair things; whether we live or whether we die belongeth unto ourselves. For if we desire to hold ourselves excused¹ from thoughts of the wicked and of deposit[s],² let us take heed diligently and guard [Page 26] for our Lord the liberty, which hath been given unto us without blemish, as something which we have received from the beginning, and let us be faithful children unto the Lord. Therefore take ye heed, O my beloved sons, that ye keep not silence like those who have been brought low through sin, or by wrath or by lust; for it is written that the anger of a man perfecteth not the righteousness of God, and besides, lust conceiveth and bringeth forth sin, and when sin hath been performed completely³ it bringeth forth death.

In this wise, O my beloved, let us lead the life of watchfulness and strenuousness, even as it is written, "Keep thine heart with all diligence,"⁴ for we have cunning and crafty enemies, and it is against these that our strife must be, even as the Apostle said, "Our

¹ Or, to withdraw ourselves.

² *I. e.*, usurers and pledges.

³ *I. e.*, been actually committed.

⁴ Proverbs IV. 23.

"contending is not against flesh and blood, but against "principalities, and powers, and against those who are "masters of the world of darkness which is beneath "the heavens."¹ Their contending against us is very frequent, and there is no respite to their attacks upon us. Now even between the devils there is a distinction, and concerning their nature and concerning [this] difference it would be a labour to narrate; but we will here reveal and describe very briefly those things which are necessary to be learnt concerning their contending against us, and their temptings, and their blandishments (*or*, flatteries), and, in short, the whole system of their cunning.

Before this, however, it is proper for us to learn that the beings which are called devils were not created that they might be devils, for there is nothing evil in the works of God, and even they were created beautiful beings; but when they turned aside from the mind of righteousness, or from the heavenly understanding, they were removed to a distance from the place wherein they lived. And seeing that they were cast away by the exalted Will they drew nigh and mingled themselves among created things (*or*, creation), and they made the heathen to go astray wholly according to their desire; and against us, because they have envy of us, they multiply their contendings that, peradventure, they may be able to divert us from the way of the truth of the kingdom of heaven, and that we may not attain unto the country wherefrom they were swept out [Page 27] and fell. Therefore the labour of prayer and of abundant supplication is necessary for us, that through Divine Providence, and through the gift which we have received from the Holy Spirit, we may be able to know what distinction existeth between the evil spirits, and what each one of them hath been commanded to [seek] after, and by what

¹ Ephesians VI. 12.

manner of means the destruction of every one of them is to be brought about. For their cunning is very great, and they spread abroad the root of their net in everything. Therefore the blessed Apostle and the rest of the righteous men who, like him, had experience of and had tried the Tempter in everything, and it is for this very reason that they have declared it, said, "The artifices of the Evil One shall not overcome us." And I will now narrate something of what I have endured from them, and a little of the vast knowledge which I have of them, and, like the beloved Prophets, I will tell what I understand about them.

The whole race of devils is beyond measure an envious one, and it is altogether jealous of all mankind, and particularly of the monks, for they cannot bear to see heavenly deeds wrought and heavenly lives led upon the earth, and they, therefore, make hidden pits and snares for us, as it is written, "They have laid "their nets over my paths;"¹ now [the words] "their "nets" mean thoughts of iniquity. Let us, however, be not afraid of their commotion, and let us not be made lax by reason of their blandishments (*or*, flatteries); but let us be constant in fasting and in prayer, and straightway they shall be vanquished and disappear. Now when they depart let us not be confident and say, "Behold, they are put to shame, and we are freed "from them," for this species can never be put to shame, and it knoweth not how to blush; for whilst their temptations are being brought to nought on this side, they make an attack upon us on the other; and when they have examined and tried by what means the understanding may be flattered or made to be terrified, they multiply excuses (*or*, reasons) to it such as the following. The devils are in the habit of leading men astray with some such reason as this:—"Behold, we will inform you concerning the things which

¹ Compare Psalm LVII. 7.

"are about to be," and then they shew them phantoms which reach up to the heavens, and mansions¹ which are exceedingly strong, [Page 28] so that by means of these similitudes they may lead astray those whom they are not able to injure in their minds.

It is quite unnecessary that we who are believers should be terrified either by the motions of the various species of devils, or by the various similitudes [which they assume], and we should not be afraid of their voices which are angry and threatening at one time, and which are flattering at another. For the Evil One is a liar, and there is no truth either in his words or his deeds. But although mankind once gave him power and sin lifted up its horn, our Lord hath now broken the goad (*or*, sting) thereof, and hath humbled it and brought it down beneath our feet; and it hath been made a thing for the Gentiles to trample upon and a laughingstock to the nations. And this is a proof that the matter is thus, and righteousness testifieth that it hath been performed in creation, for behold, he who, in his error, is exalted in his heart, and who boasteth that he can dry up the sea and can parcel out the dry land, hath not the power to destroy the heavenly mind which is in the monks, and he is unable to divert such a small and unimportant creature as myself from speaking about him. Now the devils are cunning, but they can only lead astray those upon whom they find an opportunity for exercising their wiles; they appear in all kinds of forms and similitudes, and it happeneth that the Evil One even demandeth for himself the form of righteousness, as it is written, "Satan even taketh upon himself the form of an angel of light."

There is a time when we see no man and yet the sound of the working of the devils is heard by us, and it is like the singing of a song in a loud voice; and there are time[s] when the word[s] of the Scriptures

¹ Reading *هتة* دجتم.

are heard by us, just as if a living man were repeating them, and they are exactly like the words which we should hear if a man were reading the Book. And it also happeneth that they rouse us up to the night prayer, and incite us to stand up; and they make apparent unto us also the similitudes of monks and the form[s] of those who mourn (*i. e.*, the anchorites); and they draw nigh unto us as if they had come from a long way off, and they begin to utter words like unto these, that they may make lax the understanding of those who are little of soul:—"It is now a law unto "all creation that we love desolation,¹ but we were unable [Page 29], by reason of God, to enter into our "houses when we came unto them, and to do fair "things." And when they are unable to work their will by means of a scheme of this kind, they depart from this kind of deceit unto another, [and say], "How now is it possible for thee to live? For thou hast "sinned and committed iniquity in many things. Think- "est thou that the spirit hath not revealed unto me "what hath been done by thee, or that I know not "that thou hast done such and such a thing?" If, therefore, a simple brother hear these things, and feel within himself that he hath done even as the Evil One [hath said], and he be not acquainted with his craftiness, his mind shall be troubled straightway, and he shall fall into despair and turn backwards.

It is then, O my beloved, unnecessary for us to be terrified at these things, and we have need to fear only when the devils multiply the speaking of the things which are true, and then we must rebuke them severely; for even in the days of our Redeemer when they spake² [unto Him] the things which were true

¹ *I. e.*, the belief that we love desolation (*or*, destruction) is so firmly implanted in men's minds that it has become a fundamental conception in them.

² Read **صلى الله عليه وسلم**.

He rebuked them and made them to hold their peace and to speak not, lest they should mingle their wickedness with the truth in the words which they were speaking. Let us then take heed¹ that we incline not our hearing to their words, even though they be words of truth which they utter; for it would be a disgrace unto us that those who have rebelled against God should become [our] teachers. And let us, O my brethren, arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and let us put on the helmet of redemption, and in the time of contending let us shoot out from a believing mind spiritual arrows as from a bow which is stretched (*or*, bent). For they are nothing at all, and even if they were their strength hath in it nothing which would enable it to resist the might of the Cross. Whatsoever they do they do like thieves and robbers, and not after the manner of fighting² men, for they have not the strength to stand up and to contend for any length of time; and they shout, and wrangle, and make tumultuous noises and commotions that, peradventure, by means of the sheer fright which they themselves inspire they may be able to lead away captive weak minds and to make them do their will. If they had the power to perform [Page 30] anything, or to do any harm whatsoever, so much tumult, and outcry, and trouble would be unnecessary, and if one of them only were to come he could perform [by himself] that which he had been deputed to do. For when the angel of truth was sent by the Lord of creation against the camp of the Assyrians he had no need of many companions, and he came not with tumult and terror, but with quietness and firmness he made use of the power which had been given to him, and destroyed one hundred and fourscore and five thousand of the

¹ The text reads *ἀκούω* *ἀκούω*, but is probably corrupt.

² *I. e.*, like freebooters and not like soldiers who have been trained in a regular army.

Assyrians; but the assembly of the evil ones, because it possesseth not the power of performing its own will, maketh use of means which are full of terror.

Now if any man shall say, "Supposing now the devils to have no power in them, by what agency did they bring upon Job all the calamity which is written in the Book?" let him understand that he must think in this wise, that is to say, that the Evil One hath no power to do harm, and that God only gave it into his hands to tempt him; for if this were not thus He would not have stripped him of everything, and He would have had compassion upon his soul, for mercy is not found with him. In this wise must a man think. Moreover, the Evil One appeareth to have been particularly feeble, inasmuch as the just man vanquished him in the contest which he waged with a man; yet this is not a matter for wonder, my beloved, for Job the just was not given over into the hands of the Evil One. And know ye that unless God had so wished he would neither have had power over Job himself, nor over his herds and his flocks, nor over the miserable wealth of those who were spectators of him — if a man may say so. And that the matter is thus be ye persuaded from the blessed Gospel, for when our Lord restrained and pursued the devils in one place they besought him to permit them to enter into a herd of swine which was nigh unto them. If now the devils had not power over the swine, how much [less] can they have power over man [Page 31] who was made in the image of God? So therefore in proportion as it is necessary for us to increase our fear of God it is meet for us to add to the contempt which we should have for the congregation of the evil ones. Now in what way can we increase our fear of God, or in what way are we able to add to our contempt for the evil ones? The means by which both these things are to be performed are similar in each case. Whensoever we make our life and deeds better

than they were before, we increase the pleasure which we give to God, and we also multiply the contempt which we have for the evil ones; for the devils are far more afraid of the fasting of the monks, and of their prayers, and of their chastity, and of their abstinence, and of their meekness, and of their gentleness, than they are of their exploits, and they are afraid most of all of their righteousness which is in Christ; and all these [virtues] pierce them on every side after the manner of arrows, and for this reason they do all they can, and they become mad and foam at the mouth, that if they can help it they may not arrive at this condition of disgrace.

Therefore do not ye give unto them an opportunity in any matter whatsoever, neither when they come against us in the guise of enemies in wars, nor when under the form of friends they attempt to flatter us; for they are wont to draw nigh unto us in the guise of friends and to reveal matters unto us. At one time they will come unto us and inform us beforehand concerning the coming of the brethren, and at another we hear [from them] also rumours and reports [of things which are] remote; when therefore it happeneth that they tell us of something which is going to happen, and it cometh to pass, let us not be disturbed. For it is not a great thing, seeing that they themselves are spirits in their persons, that they should see and perceive the brethren who are coming to us, and should tell us beforehand of their coming, and should [make known] a matter which hath happened in a certain place, and that they should be as it were those who revealed it unto us. Now these things a runner who is swift in his course could do, and also a horseman who rideth rapidly. Therefore, let us not be led away after their deeds through such things, and let us neither marvel at them nor think that they are matters of importance, for that they are not things [Page 32] which have not been done already hath been made known

aforetime; but to reveal secret things and to make known what is to be performed aforetime are things which are in the hands of God only.

Know ye, however, O my beloved, that they have made known to many who were afar off the fortune of this our present congregation, and all matters which were in dispute; and of what I have said the following [words] will afford a proof and an explanation. It hath happened by chance that a man hath set out from India, or from some remote country, to come unto us, and when as yet we did not see him or know anything about him, straightway we have had sight of him and have heard where he was prepared to go, for immediately [the devils] seized upon the word[s] quickly and brought it unto us, saying, "Behold, such "and such a man from such and such a place is coming unto you." It hath happened, moreover, that the man who was coming was a king, or that some obstacle hath prevented him from coming, whomsoever he was, or that having travelled a certain distance, which was not little, he returned to his own country, but nevertheless the shameful and reprehensible craftiness of the devils had found it out.

And thus it is also in the case of the waters of the river Gihôn (Nile) which is in our country, for they inform us beforehand whensoever they are going to rise. And whensoever they see the clouds and the abundant rain which [falleth] in India, (now this river Nile cometh from that country) they know and see that by reason of the storm which hath taken place in India, the river will be full from one bank to the other, and that the final rise of the waters of the Nile cometh they declare beforehand, and thus they lead astray the souls of various people who lack understanding. Now the inhabitants of India also if they had the power to travel as the devils have would come and announce the rise of the waters of the Nile to the people who are in Egypt.

And the matter is like that of the watchman when he goeth up to some high place in the sight of the whole camp and is able to see him that is coming before he arriveth; but he who cometh is also able to afford exact information concerning what is coming and what are the contents of his despatch, and what is the condition of the nation from whom he cometh. In like manner do the devils see or hear and give information [concerning what they see and hear beforehand]. Now if that which God meditateth concerning the waters of the river¹ [Page 33] for He hath the power , their cunning handiwork is reprehensible unto us who are wise, but unto those who lack understanding their error is sweet. By such means of error as these hath paganism made its way throughout creation, but the Lord of created things came and rebuked him that did these things, and humbled his spirit; and behold, the earth is tilled by the law of righteousness, and by the sword of the Spirit; and behold, the thorns, and the briars, and all the weeds of the seed of the Evil One have been rooted out therefrom. Such are the means which are made use of by their error, and with such forms as these do they lead astray creation. And supposing there be among you, O my children, any man who shall say, "Behold, do not the devils declare many things which they have not [before] heard, and do not they see many things which they have not before seen?" even if this be so, O my beloved, let not your minds be disturbed thereby; but enter ye into the counsel of your mind, and get understanding concerning the things of [this] world, and from these ye will obtain the power of [preserving your minds] free from storm[s].

And before all things know that the physicians, by means of the experience which they have gotten of their handicraft, are able to know of a certainty before

¹ The text is corrupt here.

a man falleth sick whether he will live or die, and how long the sickness will last, and when it will be at an end. And it happeneth that, even when a man himself hath no idea that he is about to enter into afflictions, the physicians from their constant practice and from the experience which they have acquired, are able to inform [him] concerning the sicknesses which are about to come upon him, even when the first symptoms thereof have not declared themselves. Now the power of foretelling things is even greater with those who steer ships than with the physicians, for they have experience of the heavens (*or*, sky) and of the wind which is therein, and they are able to declare several days beforehand on what day the heavens (*or*, sky) will change, and at what periods the wind will become strong, and these things they can do by their knowledge and by their experience. And know ye also that the ability of the devils is not superior to that of helmsmen and physicians, for they also by their experience of matters are able to declare what they have never before heard, and to describe what they have never before seen [Page 34]. Unto you then these devils and the supplication which concerneth them are superfluities; let those who are without them seek these things, but seek ye not freedom therefrom, and let it be unto you an object to finish your work.

For who [hath commanded us] that we should be strenuous in this matter, and should know it? Who among the men of olden time received praise because they had knowledge of events before they happened? And who [among them] was ever blamed because he had no knowledge of events which were afar off or were about to take place [immediately]? Each one of us will, however, be judged if he performeth not the work of righteousness, and not because he knoweth or doth not know. Therefore let us excuse ourselves from this supplication and let us pray, not

that we may know secret things, but that we may please the Divine Majesty, and that power may be given unto us to stand against the darts of the Evil One; but if we also desire to know hidden things, this too is in our own hands, and we must purify our heart as a habitation for the Holy Spirit, and behold, He will abide and rest in us, and by the rays of light which proceed from Him our eye will be able to see hidden things from remote distances. Did not Elisha, who was a man like unto ourselves,¹ through the purity of his heart see that which his eyes had never seen?

Ye must then make a distinction between the things of the Holy Spirit, and the things of the congregation of the Evil One. And perhaps ye will say, "How are we to make the distinction?" First of all, pray and make supplication unto the Revealer of secret things that He will make you to possess [the power] of distinguishing between these matters; and for the rest I myself am bound to impart unto you gladly, as my sons, whatsoever I have learned from a long experience. The visions and revelations of the Holy Spirit are not of a terrifying or tumultuous character, for they take place under conditions of rest and tranquillity, and in like manner also with gentle pleasure and quiet satisfaction doth the soul feel the rise of the Holy Ghost therein, for it is not wont to put terror into people or to produce trembling where it maketh itself to be seen. Look ye now into the Scriptures and they will inform you in what manner the revelation of the Spirit taketh place, [Page 35] and they will shew you that it taketh place in restfulness, and gladness, and peace; these are the similitudes which are in the revelation of the Spirit, and whensoever it is brought about it is done in this manner. And if, after the manner of men, a man be straightway terrified or greatly moved through the love of the thing itself, or through the beauty of

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the sentence.

the revelation, and through the quietness and pleasure which are caused thereby, in due season the fear or terror will come to an end, and comfort and gladness will come to him in its place, even as Gabriel wrought for Zachariah, and according to what the other angels did for the blessed women at the grave of our Lord, and the angel who appeared unto the shepherds and proclaimed to them the good news of the birth of our Redeemer. And ye will find many other instances which are like unto these in the Scriptures if ye seek for them. Now if the soul be terrified or be afraid by reason of those visions it doth not follow that such fright is caused by the Evil One, for it may, peradventure, arise in it because the soul thinketh itself unworthy of the heavenly revelation which hath been vouchsafed unto it. This then is the manner of the revelation of the knowledge of the truth.

Now fright of the Evil One cometh about in this wise. First of all the soul is disturbed and terrified, and it heareth the sounds of a great tumult, and of the playing of musical instruments, and of singing, which are like unto those made at a feast of drunken men and in the caves of robbers, and because of these sounds which it heareth the timid soul is greatly moved, and for this reason it becometh afraid; and moreover, the other souls which are brave are terrified because they have heard strange sounds, for all their affairs in every possible way belong to tribulation and misery. And there is a time when they ask for the similitudes of the persons of the children of men in very truth, and although [they do] thus, it is well known that it is merely a phantom and the form of a man only [which they obtain]. For however much an Indian were to rub himself he could never make himself resemble a Greek, and similarly with Satan, however many forms of the children of men he might steal for himself in order to enable him to declare unto those who beheld him that the truth was with him, and to

lead into error [Page 36] the children of the truth, and however much the phantom might resemble the reality, that it could be compared with it is impossible. There is therefore no room for the devils to lead us into error by any one of these things, and whatsoever they do, they do to their own disgrace.

Understand ye also the following matter, and learn briefly concerning it, that is to say, in the revelation of the Spirit, and in the tumult caused by devils [in the soul] fear is vouchsafed. In respect of the devils, however, they can certainly stir up in us a tumult, and put terror therein, but they cannot turn them away and make an end of them; now whilst the Holy Spirit is revealing itself to a man, the soul is greatly moved by the majesty thereof, but the terror which it hath of Him cometh to an end speedily, and perfect happiness maketh its abode in him. Thus are the wiles and crafts of the Evil One, but, even according to the things which I have already said, let us not be moved by the fear which he causeth, and let us not be terrified at his visions, and let us not turn unto him and make ourselves subject to him so that he may say unto us, "Fall ye down and worship me." By his wiles and crafts he hath led the heathen into error, and they imagine that he is God, but the fearers of our Lord have prevented us, and they have gathered us into His habitation, and [thus] there is not given unto him an opportunity of leading us into captivity. For the Evil One is exceedingly bold, and he is without shame, and he even dared to approach our Lord in his madness and depravity, that is to say, the body which He had put on; and our Lord looked upon him and scorned him, and rebuked him, and said, "Get thee behind me, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."¹ Through the consolation of these things especially the Evil One

¹ St. Luke iv. 8.

should be held in contempt in our sight; for the word which was spoken by our Lord to Satan was spoken on our behalf and on account of us, that in the same manner we ourselves might also rebuke the devils, and that as the Evil One was destroyed before the word of our Lord, so he might also perish and come to an end before our words, for in this he cannot multiply boasting.

Now when [Page 37] our word hath power over the devils, and the fiends [run] terrified from before us, let no man marvel when he rebuketh the demons and they become subject unto him, and let him not hold in contempt another man by whose hands a similar thing cannot be wrought, but let him examine first of all and understand the lives and works of various men, and from this [scrutiny] let him know with whom abideth Divine Grace, and where the righteousness of God resteth; for they will be unto us a very much better mirror than those who cast out devils, and in them the wicked will be able to see their blemishes and [so] become rebuked, and in them good men will be able to look carefully at their career and become strengthened. Whether a man becometh a prosperous toiler or an abject coward belongeth unto himself, but for a man to stretch out his hand against the devils and for them to yield place belongeth not unto him but unto heavenly Grace. For when the Disciples returned with joy unto their Lord from [preaching the] Gospel which they had been sent out to preach, they rejoiced in that even the devils were obedient unto their words. Now therefore let him that hath discernment look and hearken unto this answer which was given unto them:—"Rejoice ye not because the devils also have been made subject unto you, but rejoice because your names have been written down in heaven." Now for names to be written down in the Book of Life is a testimony

¹ St. Luke x. 20.

to conduct which is pleasing¹ [to God] and an upright mind for those who are worthy of this thing; but power over devils is, manifestly, [a mark of] the grace of our Redeemer. And that [ye may know that] this is so, observe what Christ answered those who took refuge in this thing when the spirits were going forth before Him and they said unto Him, "In Thy Name we have cast out devils, and have performed many signs and wonders." And He said unto them, "Verily, verily, I say unto you I know you not."² Therefore let us pray, as I have already said, that there may be given unto us the grace to seek after the [power to] distinguish between spirits, [Page 38] according to the word of the Book which saith, "Be not ye led astray by the spirits which err."³

[THE FOLLOWING IS] BY THE HOLY WRITER MÂR ATHANASIUS. Now I merit praise in that whilst repeating the triumphs of the blessed Anthony I desire to keep silence concerning many things, being at the same time very careful not to speak anything on mine own authority only; it is sufficient for me to record the things which actually took place. Let not any man imagine that we declare these matters as a pastime, but let him be sure that we narrate them as things which took place in very truth, and that we do so knowing from actual experience that they are true, and that we are only placing on record the wonderful acts of the blessed man that they may form a small memorial of him. Let the wise man know the purity of our intention and that we do not narrate the things which have been said by us in this history without a good object; and we shall be made strong by the measure of your love. For I am convinced that it would be

¹ Or, "testimony to a beautiful life, and character, and works."

² St. Luke XIII. 25.

³ Compare 1 Timothy, chap. IV.

neither useful nor beneficial if matters of this kind were spoken of in a boastful manner, because our Adversary is very crafty, and it might happen that he could cause us to stumble even in a thing which concerneth the truth; therefore, whilst recording the narrative of the histories of the wiles and arts of the Evil One, it is meet that we should make you to be watchful against his subtlety.

THE BLESSED AND HOLY MAN ANTHONY [saith]:—How often then did they ascribe blessings in a loud voice, and whilst the voice of blessing was reaching my ears, the words of cursing were sent forth by them. For how many times did they inform me beforehand concerning the flood of the Nile,¹ that is to say, of the river Gihôn, and how many times did I say unto them, "And as for you what have ye?" And I used to say unto them, "I have no need to learn these things from "you," but they would come again to me after this in the guise of thieves, and they would surround me, and would stand up and utter threats against me, having at the same time their weapons upon them. And again, on another occasion they were suddenly found filling my house with serpents of various kinds, and with reptiles in large numbers, and with these there were also horses which neighed; then straightway I made myself ready and I stood up and I lifted up my voice in Psalms, and said, "Some [put their trust in] "chariots, [Page 39] and some in horses, but we will "be strong in the Name of the Lord our God,"² and immediately they came to an end and disappeared from before me. On another occasion they came to me by night, and they were holding torches of fire and were saying, "We have come now to burn thee [alive], O An-"thony," and as they were saying these things unto me I closed my eyes so that I might shew them that I

¹ *Or*, "the overflow of the Nile."

² Psalm xx. 7.

had placed their light in the portion of darkness; and straightway I put on the armour of prayer against them, and whilst I was praying the light of the sinful ones was extinguished, and it was no more.

And again, after a few months they came in the guise of the singers of the Psalms, and they began to speak to me [with words] from the Scriptures; but I, like a deaf man, did not hearken unto them. On another occasion they shook down upon me the habitation wherein I was living, but I laughed at them by reason of my confidence which [was placed] in our Lord, and my mind was in no way whatsoever disturbed by them. And after this they came unto me with whistlings and they were beating their hands together and dancing with joy;¹ but when they saw that notwithstanding all their clamour I did not cease to pray, and that I held not my peace from the singing of Psalms, like unto men who have been defeated and overcome they turned their songs of joy into lamentations, and they began to wail and to beat their breasts in grief, and at the same time I gave thanks unto my good Lord for all these things, and because He had broken, and destroyed, and brought low, and humbled, their audacious arrogance and mad folly.

And again, on another occasion, there appeared [unto me] a devil of an exceedingly haughty and insolent appearance, and he stood up before me with the tumultuous noise of many people, and he dared to say unto me "I, even I, am the power of God," and "I, even I, am the Lord of the worlds." And he said unto me "What dost thou wish me to give thee? Ask "and thou shalt receive." Then I blew a puff of wind at him, and I rebuked him in the Name of Christ, and I made ready to smite him, and when, as I thought, I did smite him, at that very moment all his strength

¹ Read *ἡσυχάζοντες*.

and all his host [of fiends] at the [mention of] the Name of Christ came to an end. And on another occasion, when I was fasting, [Page 40] the crafty one appeared unto me in the form of a brother monk carrying bread, and he began to speak unto me words of counsel, saying, "Rise up, and stay thy heart with "bread and water, and rest a little from thine excessive "labours, for thou art a man, and howsoever greatly "thou mayest be exalted thou art clothed with a mortal "body, and [thou shouldst] fear sicknessess and tribu- "lations." Then I regarded his words, and I held my peace and refrained from giving [him] an answer. And I bowed myself down in quietness and I began to make supplication in prayer, and I said, "O Lord, make "Thou an end of him even as Thou hast been wont "to do him away at all times;" and as I concluded my words he came to an end and vanished like dust, and went forth from the door like smoke.

And again, how very many times in the desert hath he shewn before me things like phantoms which resembled gold in order that I might bow myself down before him and touch him even with my finger! I, however, never ceased from singing the songs of the Holy Spirit. And how very many times when I was receiving enjoyment in the Holy Spirit did he disturb me in anger, and he even dared so far as to strike me! Not that I myself am of any account whatsoever, but that it may be seen that the power of our Lord is mighty, and that it cannot be vanquished even in the feeble ones who believe in Him. And Satan laid upon me hard stripes (*or*, cruel blows), and in proportion as he multiplied them I kept crying out with a loud voice, saying, "There is nothing which shall "separate me from the love of God;" and after these words [had been said] Satan and the members of his host fell one upon the other, and each of them vented his wrath upon his fellow. Now it was God, Who aforetime reduced Satan to subjection, and God alone,

Who performed all these things which I have related; and [the Book] saith, "I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven."¹ And I, O my sons, remember the word[s] of the Apostle, who said, "I have spoken these things for your behalf, both for myself and for Apollos that ye may learn of us;"² in this wise ye also must learn of me [Page 41] these things which ye have heard, and ye shall not be wearied [in running] your course and ye shall not fear the appearances (*or*, visions) of Satan and of all his hosts. And even though I, like a simple man, have made use of these histories, it is for you to hold them to be true; for it is meet that we should bring forward in this place whatsoever we remember, lest under one pretext or another, or by some means or other, [Satan] draw nigh unto you, and that ye may find yourselves ready [to fight] against all his schemes.

Now on one occasion Satan approached the house one night and knocked at the door, and I went out to see who was knocking, and I lifted up mine eyes and saw the form of an exceedingly tall, and strong man; and having asked him, "Who art thou?" he answered and said unto me, "I am Satan." And after this I said unto him, "What seekest thou?" and he answered and said unto me, "Why do the monks, and the anchorites, and the other Christians revile me, and why do they at all times heap curses upon me?" And having clasped my head firmly³ [in wonder] at his mad folly, I said unto him, "Wherefore dost thou give them trouble?" Then he answered and said unto me, "It is not I who trouble them, but it is they who trouble themselves. For there happened unto me on a certain occasion that which did happen to me, and had I not cried out to them that I was the Enemy, his slaughterers would have come to an end

¹ St. Luke x. 18.

² Compare 1 Corinthians iii. 6.

³ Literally, "And having multiplied and held my head."

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"for ever. I have, therefore, no place [to dwell in],
"and not one glittering sword, and not even people
"who are really subject unto me, for those who are
"in service to me hold me wholly in contempt; and
"moreover, I have to keep them in fetters, for they
"do not cleave to me because they esteem it right to
"do so, and they are ever ready to escape from me in
"every place. The Christians have filled the whole
"world, and behold, even the desert is filled full with
"[their] monasteries and habitations. Let them then
"take good heed to themselves when they heap abuse
"upon me." Then, wondering at the grace of our
Lord, I said unto him, "How doth it happen that whilst
"thou hast been a liar on every other occasion at this
"present the truth is spoken by thee? And how is it
"that thou speakest the truth now when thou art wont
"to utter lies? [Page 42] It is indeed true that when
"Christ came into [this] world thou wast brought down
"to the lowest depths, and that the root of thine error
"was plucked up from the earth." And when Satan
heard the Name of Christ his form vanished and his
words came to an end. Since, therefore, Satan himself
confessed that there was nothing in his power, we are
compelled wholly to despise him and his host. Such
then are the crafts and wiles which are found with the
Enemy and with the greedy dogs which form his host.
And having learned the feebleness and helplessness
thereof it is meet that we should make ourselves ready
to [march] against them as over a road which our
Lord hath trodden for us.

Let then these phantoms be a help unto us so that
our minds may not be frightened by his cunning, and
fear may not abide in us by reason of his impudence;
and let not anxious thought be wrought in us, lest the
Evil One gain greater strength, and let us not be
afraid when he hurleth his darts at us lest this thing
be an occasion unto him for boasting. And let us not
be like stricken men, but let us be prepared at all

times [to act] as men who have vanquished the enemy; and let this thought be with us at all times, namely, that God, Who hath revealed and exposed the "powers and dominions", is with us at all times. For [otherwise] when the evil ones draw nigh unto us, having made ready to come against us in the hope that they may gain some advantage over us, or may discover some thoughts of fear in us, for they prepare phantoms [which appear] unto us in the event that they may find that we are terrified and afraid, straightway, like thieves who have discovered a place which is without guardians,¹ they will enter into us and will lead us captives of their will, and our miserable souls will be found to be in an agitated state, not by reason of the punishment of the Adversary, but through our own sluggishness.² If, however, the evil ones find us in the love of Christ, and meditating continually on the hope [of that] which is to come, and thinking thoughts concerning the commandments of our Lord, and [believing] that the kingdom and dominion are His, and that the Evil One hath neither opportunity nor power to resist the might of the Cross, if, I say, the Evil One shall find any believing man in this state of mind when he draweth nigh unto him, [Page 43] at that very moment he will remove himself from him to a distance.

It was in such a frame of mind that he found Job who was prepared [to resist him], and the Evil One feared, and was ashamed, and he departed from him as from a man of war; on the other hand, he led captive to his will wholly Judah whom he found to be entirely destitute of such matters. Let us learn then fully from such examples and from such narratives, that if we wish to do so it is very easy for us to hold in contempt the Evil One. Let us meditate at all times on our Lord, and let our souls rejoice in His Hope,

¹ *I. e.*, find an opportunity when we are not on guard.

² Read ἡ ἀσθενία τοῦ πνεύματος.

and behold, we shall find that the Evil One will vanish from before us like the darkness, and we shall also discover that those who came to persecute us will turn [their backs] upon us like men who are chased out of the battle, for, as I have already told you, they are cowards. For the decree of doom (*or*, judgment) is at all times before them, and they are ever expecting the punishment which is prepared for them, and the fear of the Cross is cast upon them in proportion to their impudent audacity. Let then these and all the other things [which I have said] be unto you the means of understanding the insolent cunning of the Evil One, and of recognizing the similitudes of the forms of his appearances. If it happen therefore unto any of you that the appearance of one of these forms presenteth itself, be ye not forthwith terrified, but look upon it with great courage as it really is, and ask it, "Who art thou? And whence comest thou?" And if it be a true revelation of the Holy Spirit, straightway the mind will feel that it is so, and will have confidence, and courage (*or*, consolation) will grow in you and fear will diminish; but if it be an appearance of the error of the Evil One, the thing will be confounded, and there will be no opportunity for it to be bold, and the form of the appearance will not tarry, and the question [which ye ask] will make manifest the courage of the confidence of refuge in our Lord.

On one occasion a manifestation revealed itself unto Joshua, the son of Nun, and he asked that which had appeared unto him who he was, and took his stand upon the question; and similarly Daniel also saw one of the Watchers and rejoiced at the sight, and was afraid at the measure of the honour of him that had come, but he was wholly comforted by the grace [Page 44] of the confidence which he had in his truth. And in like manner a revelation (*or*, manifestation) of the truth came to each and every one of the [saints

of] olden time, and none of the stratagems of the phantoms of the Wicked One ever led them astray.

And as the blessed man Anthony was saying these things, and every man was hearkening unto him with gladness, unto every man who listened unto him was given help of one kind or another according to his need; the man who was strong found his strenuousness to be increased, and the man who was weak found that he received encouragement, and the proud man found that his arrogance was overthrown and swept away, and every man was persuaded to reach forward confidently towards the hope which is to come. And all the people with one accord ascribed blessing unto the righteous man Anthony because such a degree of strength had been given unto him, and because such great wisdom had made its abode in him, and because that in the fierce strife and warfare which he waged against devils he was able to distinguish and discern the difference between good and evil appearances, and the manifestations (*or*, revelations) of our Lord from those which appertained unto devils. And in the days of the blessed man the habitations of the monks were accepted as tabernacles of praises, and Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs were heard therein; and love and righteousness rejoiced therein, and therein was found the rest of prayer coupled with fasting. And the monks toiled in the labour of their hands that they might not be a burden upon any man, and of [the proceeds of] the sweat of their faces the poor and the needy were relieved. And the monastery [of Anthony] became at that time a wonder unto the inhabitants of the country, for behold, the silver, and the gold, and the riches of this world which were so highly esteemed in their sight, were despised and accounted as dross by such men as the monks thereof; and those at whose wastefulness, and drunkenness, and lasciviousness the monks marvelled, returned [to their homes] in wonder as [if they had seen] an angel and

not a human being. No sounds of dissension or contention were heard there, and no voice of the violent man(?) or of his gaoler sounded therein; [Page 45] well might a man describe that monastery in the words of the parable which was uttered in olden time, and say, "How fair are thy habitations, O Jacob, and thy "tabernacles, O Israel,"¹ for the country was as if the desert had been roofed over, and it was like a paradise which was by the rivers, and tabernacles which the Lord had stablished, and like cedars by the side of the stream.

Now therefore the blessed man, according to his wont, withdrew himself and departed to his habitation (*or*, cell) and to the place which was convenient for him to dwell in, and there like a mighty man he triumphed in the apparel of war; at all seasons he was mindful of the mansions which were in the heavens, and He despised the world and held it in contempt, and his mind longed greatly for the kingdom of God, for already, even according to the word of the Apostle, he wished to be with his Lord. And moreover, he was greatly troubled when the time drew nigh in which it was proper for him to eat and drink with the sons of his habitation, for he was shamefaced, and he would fain depart from their midst, and he did not like any man to see him eating or drinking; nevertheless, although he felt thus at the appointed season he would eat [with them]. Now on the greater number of days the love which he bore towards the brethren would in this way draw him to their company, for he did not desire to grieve them in any way whatsoever, and he was as careful for them as if they had been himself; for he was mindful of the word of the Book which saith, "Ye are members,"² each of the

¹ Numbers XXIV. 5.

² Romans XII. 5.

"other, and if one member be glorified the whole body "is glorified."

And this he used to say and teach unto them:—It is right that we should at all times follow after the food of the soul, for the soul worketh together with our spirit in the striving which is against the Adversary; but it is meet for the body to be in subjection and tribulation, for it very speedily becometh unduly exalted by the persuasion and flattery of the Evil One. And it is therefore right that the soul should be more prepared and more exalted than the body, that the body may not prevail (*or*, be strong) over it, and bring it low by the lusts [thereof]. And our Lord also gave this indication [Page 46] to the blessed Apostles, and commanded them, saying, "Be not careful as to what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, "for such things do the peoples of the earth seek after, "and your Father knoweth whatsoever things ye have "need of; but seek ye the kingdom of God and His "glory, and the things which are superior unto these "shall be added unto you."

Now after these things some short time a storm and a persecution arose¹ in the Church, during the years [of the reign] of Maximinus, the wicked Emperor, and [the soldiers] began to seize and to take into Alexandria a great company of the blessed confessors; and the report of these things reached the blessed Anthony. And straightway he left his habitation and place of abode, and he made haste at the sound of the strife, and he said to himself, "I will go and draw nigh "[thereto], so that if Divine Grace call me it shall find "me prepared, and if it thinketh otherwise concerning "my unworthy self, I shall at all events be a spectator "of the strife;" now he desired exceedingly to enter

¹ St. Matthew VI. 31 ff.

² The persecution began A.D. 235: see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI. 28; Rufinus, *Hist.*, VI. 19.

[the race], and to be accounted worthy of the athlete's crown. So he travelled on his way and drew nigh and arrived at the city, and he went in through the gate, and enquired where the athletes had been made to assemble, and where they had been gathered together, and asked concerning the report of the strife. And when he had heard and had learned where the place was, and in what manner of restraint they were fettered, he made his way thither; and as soon as he saw those who had been called by Divine Grace [unto death] at this time, he planned¹ with all diligence and by every means in his power that he might be a companion unto every one of them in the contest wherein they were to stand. And he prepared² and made himself ready to be with every man, and he became a prisoner in the prison with those who were shut up therein, and he ministered unto them and relieved their wants; and he passed his time continually in close companionship with the rest of the prisoners who were to be exiled, and those who were to be sent out from the country to the mines³ and to the islands, and he ministered unto them with great pains and care. And he was found to be ready to accompany all such as were brought and were going in to their doom, both in their going in and coming out; as they went in he gave them encouragement and admonition, and as they came out [Page 47] he ascribed blessings unto them and sang hymns of praise. And it was his custom [to do this] day by day, and his acts were so well known and so famous in all the city that at length [the report thereof] came to the ears of the governor. Now when the wicked governor learned concerning

¹ Read **وَقَدَّرَ**.

² Read **تَعَدَّى**.

³ Probably the mines to the west of Aswân, and those of the Wâdî 'Alâki, which lie about 80 miles east of Dakkeh in Nubia.

him, and the people had informed him concerning Anthony's disposition and work, he marvelled at [the bravery of] his mind, and because he was neither moved by all the tortures and tribulations which were falling upon his companions, nor was afraid; and he commanded that he should no longer be found in the city, and that the other monks who were with should not come therein because they also were doing the same work.

And on another day certain athletes were summoned to the contest, and when the blessed Anthony knew of the command and threat (*or*, prohibition) of the judge, he washed and made white the apparel with which he was clothed (now his tunic was without shoulder coverings and was like the tunics with which the Egyptians cover themselves), and having arrayed himself in his clothing, he went and stood up inside the hall of judgment, opposite to the wicked judge; and when the men who had heard the commands of the king concerning Anthony and his companions lifted up their eyes and saw him, they prevented him that day from appearing before the judge, for they marvelled at him, and at his boldness concerning himself, and his courage in the face of death. Now all this threatening was very sad to him, and [in spite of] his contempt for the Enemy, the door which would enable him to testify was not opened; but God preserved him for the strengthening of those who testified, and for the benefit of those who were about to do so, and for the increase of the monasteries of the monks, and for the praise of the whole Church. And he continued to do this work until God was pleased to put an end to this persecution of the Church (now in those days the blessed Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, bore his testimony) (*i. e.*, was martyred); and after these things the blessed Anthony departed to his monastery and habitation, and he bore testimony continually, and, as it is written, he died daily, and after the persecution [Page 48] he was always adding a little more to the toil of his daily life.

Now he wore his apparel with the hair inside, and the skin outside, and to the day of his death he never touched his body with water, for he wished to keep it meagre, and he never dipped his feet in water without the sternest necessity; and no man ever saw him naked or exposed, except when he died, and his body was carried in honour by his disciples. He once decided that for a short time he would remain in silent contemplation, and that he would neither go outside his dwelling nor be seen by any man, and it came to pass that during the days wherein [he was thus occupied] a certain Roman nobleman whose name was Martininòs¹ came to visit him, and he drew nigh and besought him to come forth and to pray with him, and to lay his hand upon his daughter, who was torn by a devil. And when the nobleman had waited a very long time, and had besought the blessed man incessantly to open his door, though he would not be persuaded to do so, Anthony looked [out of the window] and saw him, and said unto him, "O man, why dost thou weary me? I am a man like unto thyself, but "if thou dost believe in the Christ Whom I serve, depart "in peace, and according as thou believest pray, and "it shall be [unto thee] even as thou wishest." Then straightway that man had full and complete confidence in the word which he had heard, and went back by the way he had come, taking his daughter with him, and she was delivered from the power of the subjugation of the Evil One. And God, Who did say, "Ask ye and receive",² performed very many things like unto this by the hands of Anthony; now many people who were smitten with diseases of several kinds thronged to him, and came and sat down by the side of his cell, and each of them obtained relief from their afflictions.

¹ *I. e.*, Martinianus. See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 48.

² St. Matthew VII. 7; St. Luke XI. 9.

Now when he saw that much people were gathered together to him, and that the trouble which men and women caused him increased, he became afraid either lest he should be unduly exalted in his mind by reason of the things which God had wrought by his hand, or lest others should esteem him [Page 49] beyond what was right and more than he deserved, and he determined to go away from that place and to enter the Thebaïd. Then he took a little bread and went down and sat by the side of the river, and waited until he should see a boat going to that district to which he was ready to go. And as he was pondering these things in his mind, suddenly a voice from heaven was heard by him, and it called him and said unto him, "Anthony, whither goest thou? Why art thou departing from this place?" Now he was not afraid of the voice which came to him, but like a man who was accustomed to do so he spake with it, and answered and said, "Because, O my Lord, the people will not permit me [to enjoy] a little silent contemplation; it is for this reason that I am wishing to go up to the Thebaïd, and especially do I desire it because the people are seeking at my hands that which is wholly beyond my powers." Then again the voice came to him, saying, "If thou goest up it will not be to the Thebaïd only, and even if thou goest into the Thebaïd as thou art thinking [of doing] thou wilt have to endure toil greater than that which thou [performest] here; if, however, thou wishest to enjoy silent contemplation and to be at rest, get thee gone into the innermost desert." And Anthony the blessed answered and said, "O my Lord, who will shew me [the way to] that difficult place? For neither do I myself know it, nor am I acquainted with or have knowledge of men who do." Now whilst he was standing up there passed by certain Arabs who had made ready and set out on their way to go to that region, and the blessed man drew nigh unto them, and entreated them to let

him go with them, and they received him gladly because it was manifest that it was the commandment of God which was to be performed in this matter. And having travelled with them for three days and three nights, he arrived at a certain high mountain, and he found in the lower parts thereof water which was clear, and cool, and sweet, and a few palm trees, for the land which was by the side of the mountain was a flat plain; and the place was [Page 50] pleasing to the blessed Anthony, and he loved it well, and he loved it especially because God had been his Governor and had led him to that spot. Therefore Anthony encamped there and dwelt in that place, and he was exalted there like a king in the courts [of his palace].¹ Now when those Arabs who had brought him to that place saw [this], they wondered and marvelled, and they left with him a little bread which was found with them; and from that time forward whensoever they were journeying into Egypt and returning therefrom those Arabs, by reason of the wonderful things which they saw in the man, always passed by the place where he was, and also brought him bread. Now there were found in that region a few small birds [which came] from the palm trees.

And it came to pass that after a time it was heard by the brethren where he was, and like beloved sons they remembered their righteous father, and they made enquiries and found out where the place was,² and they laboured strenuously and sent to him everything that could be of use to him. Now when the blessed Anthony saw that the brethren had begun to take trouble for him, he besought those who had begun to go to him to bring him a little wheat and a hoe, and when they had brought them to him, he went about the land at the foot of the mountain, and found a little

¹ Or, "in the open spaces", (*i. e.*, squares, of his city).

² Literally, "and they stood upon the place."

place which was suitable for cultivating and watering; thus he was able to provide himself with as much bread as he needed, and he rejoiced greatly because he had found the means which would prevent him from troubling any man, and because he would be a burden to himself only. And having seen that the brethren were thronging to him, and that they would not be prevented from coming to him, he tilled a portion of that ground and made it into a vegetable garden for the benefit of those who came to him. Now when he first began to sow wheat in that place the wild animals used to come there in large numbers for the sake of the water, and they damaged the crop, but one day when they were among the corn according to their custom, he went quietly [Page 51] and seized one of them, and he said unto them all with a laugh, "Why do ye do harm to me seeing that I do no harm to you? Get ye gone therefore in the Name of the Lord, and come ye never again nigh unto this place;" and from that hour this was a command from heaven to them, and they never again did harm to that place.

And the blessed Anthony was alone in that desert, for the place wherein he had his habitation was waste and desolate; and his mind therefore dwelt the more upon exalted things, and it was content therewith. Now the brethren who used to go to visit him besought and entreated him to allow them to bring him there month by month a few garden herbs, and olives, and oil; and although he contended with them about it they overcame him with their entreaty, and compelled him [to receive them], and they began to pay him visits, one at a time, according to their entreaty to him. And the blessed man was exceedingly old, and he was far advanced in years.¹ And in that desert also he endured strife, not with flesh and blood, but with devils and with impure spirits, and we have learned this also from

¹ Literally, "and had entered into many days."

those who were going to visit him continually. They used to hear also there the sound of tumult and of outcry, and to see flashing spears, and at night time they would see the whole mountain filled with fiery phantoms, and those men were greatly terrified; but the blessed Anthony was trained in stratagems(?) of war like a man of war, and he was prepared, and he stood up and rebuked the Evil One, who straightway ceased according to [his] wont, and he encouraged the brethren who were with him not to be terrified or to tremble at [the sight of] such visions as these. For, said he to them, "they are only empty phantoms which perish as "if they had never existed at the Name of the Cross;" and wonder and admiration laid hold upon every man at the greatness and at the manner of the righteousness which was found in the blessed man.

He was not [Page 52] terrified at the devils, he was not wearied by the desert, and his soul had no fear of the wild beasts which were therein; but Satan suffered torture from all these things. And one day he came to the blessed man who was singing the Psalms of David, and he gnashed his teeth upon him loudly; but the blessed Anthony ceased not [to sing], and he was comforted and helped by the grace of our Lord. One night whilst he was standing up and was watching in prayer, Satan gathered together all the wild beasts of the desert, and brought them against him, and they were so many in number that he can hardly have left one beast in its den; and as they compassed him about on every side, and with threatening looks were ready [to leap upon him], he looked at them boldly and said unto them, "If ye have received "power over me [from the Lord] draw nigh, and delay "not, for I am ready for you; but if ye have made "ready and come at [the command of] Satan, get ye "back to your places and tarry not, for I am a servant "of Jesus the Conqueror." And when the blessed man had spoken these words, Satan was straightway driven

away by the mention of the Name of Christ like a sparrow before a hawk.

And on another day, when he was weaving palm leaves, for such was his occupation, and he used to toil thereat so that he might not be a burden upon any man, and that he might [make baskets] to give as gifts to the people who were continually coming to visit him, suddenly he threw up his hand above the door, and took hold of a rope of palm leaves to bring it outside, and he leaped and stood up to see; and looking out from the door he saw an animal which had [the following] form: from its head to its sides it was like a man, and its legs and feet were those of an ass. When the blessed Anthony saw it he only made the sign of the Cross over himself, and said, "How can anyone imagine that the Evil One is crafty? And 'how can any one be agitated [by him] more than once 'or twice? Is it not within the scope of his cunning 'to know that these things are accounted by me merely 'empty phantasms? And now, if there be anything 'whatsoever in the power of him that sent thee [Page 53], 'come hither and perform that which thou wast sent to 'do; but if Christ, Who shall make an end of thee, and 'in Whom I have my hope, liveth, and if He be true, 'let the destruction of thyself and of him that sent thee 'take place immediately." Thereupon, at the word Christ, there fell upon the creature quaking and trembling, and he took to flight, and [as] he was going forth in haste and was running along terrified he fell down and burst asunder at no great distance from [Anthony's] abode. Now the devils did all these things in order that they might drive the blessed man from the desert.

And it came to pass after a time that the brethren [who were] monks appeared before him and besought him to come down and visit them in their monastery for a long period, and having multiplied their entreaties he granted their request; and he rose up and travelled with them in the desert to the borders of Egypt. Now

there was with them a camel which was laden with bread, and water, [and] provisions for the way, for no water whatsoever was to be found in the whole of that desert. And having travelled for one or two days, the water finished and came to an end, for the men with him were not a few, and in those days the heat was very fierce, and the people were overcome by thirst; and they were troubled the more because they had wandered about the whole of that district that they might find water, and they threw themselves down on the ground, being in trouble and in great danger, and because they were in despair about themselves they turned the camel adrift to wander about in the desert. Now when the blessed old man saw the people in such great distress, he sighed heavily, and having departed from them a short distance, he bowed his knees upon the ground and spreading out his hands towards heaven, he cried out to God, and said, "Consider, O Lord, at "this time also the prayer of Thy servant;" and before the words of his prayer were ended, water sprang up from that place whereon he had prayed, and he brought all the people and made them to come [there], and they prayed, and gave thanks unto God, and they drank and were relieved from their tribulations, and they also filled the water-skins with the water. [Page 54] Then they went forth in quest of the camel, and they brought him back [to their camp]; now they found him quite near, because it happened that, through the Providence (*or*, Dispensation) of God, whilst the animal was wandering about his cord was caught by a root and he was unable to move, and he stood still until they went and brought him [back]. And they gave the camel water to drink, and they loaded up his load upon him, and they set out on their road.¹

¹ "Ut camelus errans per eremum, dum funiculum trahit, "in quodam lapide eiusdem alligatione funiculi teneretur." Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 49.

Now when they had come to a district which was inhabited and had entered the villages, many people burst forth from the whole of that neighbourhood and came to the place where the blessed man was, for every man was waiting and longing for him, and the love of him was hot in their minds, and they drew nigh and made obeisance unto him as unto a righteous father. And the blessed man spread abroad the things which he had provided and was carrying [with him] when he came from the desert,¹ and he made them happy with the enjoyments of the Spirit; and at that time there was twofold joy in the monasteries of the monks, and they rejoiced in the triumphs of the blessed old man whom they saw renewing his youth like the eagle. Now the chief of all the commandments which he used to give unto all the monks was that they should freely confess, before everything, the true faith of Christ, and should love it with all their strength; that they should preserve themselves from evil thoughts, and from the lusts of the body; that they should flee from vain boasting; that they should pray continually, and should be prepared and ready [to sing] Psalms and [to recite] the Office before they went to sleep; that after sleep they should read and remember the words of the Scriptures, wherein was their life; that they should meditate upon the acts and lives of the Apostles, and should consider what they were before they approached Christ, and also what they were after they had drawn nigh to Him, and how in their former state they were despised and held in contempt by the world, and how in the latter state they suddenly waxed great, and were held in high honour, both in this world and in the kingdom of God; and that it was not their own strength which had made for them this exalted estate and honour, [Page 55] but their perfect righteous-

¹ The text is faulty here.

ness towards God. With these and such like [admonitions] did he make zealous and strengthen their minds.

And, moreover, he spake the following words:—
“Since we, the monks, are not held fast by anger in anything whatsoever, Satan filcheth us away through this very thing that we may rage one against the other; and it is therefore meet that we should at all times remember the word of our Lord which saith, “If thou bringest to the altar thine offering, and there rememberest that thou art held by anger against thy brother, go thou and be reconciled with thy brother, and then offer up thine offering.”¹ We should remember also the word of the Apostle, “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.”² Now this command, “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath,” was not written merely [to tell us] that we were never to be angry, but [to warn us] against offences of every kind, and against keeping wrath one against the other; for it is very right and seemly that the sun should not go down by day and leave us in sin, and that the moon should not overtake us in the same by night, and should not find us in the service of the Wicked One, or thinking of him. Since therefore it is well for us [to be] thus, it is right that we should consider and examine into the word of the Apostle which admonished us, saying, “Try ye one another, examine ye one another.”³ Let us then each and every day meditate in such a way that every man among us may receive from his soul the computation of all his works and thoughts, both by day and by night; and let every man be an honest investigator of his own thoughts for himself, before shall come the righteous Avenger Who shall reward righteously and shall punish even according as

¹ St. Matthew v. 23, 24.

² Ephesians iv. 26.

³ 2 Corinthians xiii. 5.

the Holy Gospel hath admonished us; for the wages of the mind are always the same. Those who have fought against sins He will encourage, and him that standeth in the truth He will admonish and urge to new exertions, lest he be filched away by boasting, and be despoiled by means of over-confidence, and lest he despise one man and love another, and justify his own soul. [Let us then do these things], even as the Apostle Paul said, "until our Lord cometh,"¹ Who shall judge the things which are hidden.

For it may happen that we ourselves do not know our own manner of life and works, but though we have lost this knowledge [Page 56] it is manifest before God, Who knoweth the things which are hidden. Let us therefore appoint Him to be the Judge. Let us, at all times, take each the burden of the other, and let us suffer for each other even as our Lord suffered for us; but let us examine our souls unceasingly, and let us provide and fill our houses in this world with whatsoever things we lack with the greatest care. And let this thing also be an admonition to us against sin, and let each man of us write down both his actions and his thoughts upon the tablets of his heart, as if he were obliged to read and lay them out in due order under the eye of every man. For when he pondereth and considereth [he will find] that it would be a shame and a disgrace that these things should come to light, and when he meditateth further [he will see] that, inasmuch as the mere hearing of the same would cause him great ignominy, it is manifest that the doing of the same [would work] great destruction. And since it is difficult for sin to come to light, it is certain that falsehood clingeth and cleaveth thereto; for as when the natural eye seeth [what is happening] no act of shame is to be expected, so also if we were men who were obliged to tell each other our manner of life (*or*

¹ Compare 1 Timothy vi. 14.

conversation) and thoughts, no sin would ever be committed by us because of the shame which would result therefrom. Let then the writings wherein are inscribed our shortcomings be things of which to be ashamed, for they take the place of the eyes of the spectators, and since we are as much ashamed of the writings as if they had been spectators, let us, like men of understanding, cease from the doing of and from meditating upon the works which bring in their train reproach. Now therefore by such means as these, if our souls are a care unto us, let us bring our bodies into subjection, so that by our works we shall please God, and treat with contempt the Enemy by means of our strenuousness.


Now it was with such matters as these that the blessed man Anthony used to rejoice the monks who went to visit him, and the others, that is to say, those who were smitten with sickness, and those who were evilly entreated by evil spirits he would comfort by his words, and would aid by his prayers. And our Lord at all times made him to be happy in his prayers, for when they were heard he was not unduly lifted up [Page 57] in his heart, and when they were not hearkened to he murmured not, but in all of them he gave thanks to God. And moreover, he encouraged those who were smitten with sickness not to be disheartened by reason of their tribulations, and he told them that they must know that neither he nor any other man had power to grant relief to them, and that it was God alone Who could do so, and that He would do so for whomsoever He pleased whensoever He pleased. And these and such like words became a relief and an aid for those who were smitten with sicknesses, and he gladly lightened the weight of their trials by more than the words which were offered unto them; but those who were made whole were told before everything else that they must not return their thanks and gratitude to the blessed Anthony, but

that they must ascribe praise wholly unto God [for their healings].

Now there once went to the blessed Anthony in the inner desert a certain nobleman who was an officer in the palace, and whose name was Parnîṭôn,¹ and he had an evil spirit; he was always gnawing his tongue, and the light of his eyes was well nigh destroyed. And this man went to the blessed Anthony and entreated him to pray over him, and having done so he answered and said to that man, "Depart, and thou shalt be healed," but Parnîṭôn entreated him that he might remain with him for some days. And the blessed man was saying unto him continually, "Thou canst not be healed here. Go away from this place, and when thou arrivest in Egypt thou wilt see suddenly the wonderful sign which God hath wrought upon thee." And having confidence in [these words] the man went forth, and before he saw Egypt there came unto him deliverance straightway, and he became healed, according to the word of the blessed man which was revealed unto him in the Spirit by our Redeemer.

And there was a certain virgin of Bûṣâr² who suffered from a severe and terrible disease, for the water (*or*, tears) which flowed from the pupils of her eyes, and the matter which fell from her nostrils, before it fell upon the ground became worms, and her [Page 58] whole body was in a state of putrefaction; and because of the progress of the disease her eyes had lost the power of natural sight and were useless. Now when the kinsfolk of this young woman heard that certain brethren [who were] monks were preparing to go to the blessed Anthony, because they believed wholly in the man who had healed a woman of a flow of blood

¹ Fronto autem quidam, vir ex Palaestinis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 50. col. 2 (Cap. XXIX).

² *I. e.*, Busiris, ⲃⲟⲩⲱⲣⲓⲥ = Pa-Āsâr .

[which had lasted] twelve years, they entreated them to allow them to go with them also and to follow in their company; and as the brethren received their petition and permitted them to go in their company they arrived [in due course] at the place [where the blessed man was]. And the kinsfolk of the maiden remained with their daughter a short distance on this side of the mountain, at the place where dwelt the man of God, Paphnutius the confessor and anchorite. And when the brethren had gone in and had greeted the blessed Anthony, and whilst they were meditating about relating to him concerning the maiden and her kinsfolk, he began to speak before they did about her sickness and afflictions, and said how it happened that she came to be in their company. Then making the conversation of the blessed man the pretext for their words they besought and entreated him to allow the maiden to come into his presence, but he would not be persuaded to do so, and he said unto them, "Get ye back to the place where the maiden is, and if she be not already dead, ye will find that she hath been wholly healed, for this hath not happened either through me or through the gift which my poor and contemptible person possesseth, but it is a gift from our Redeemer, Who performeth grace and mercy in every place for those who cry unto Him in affliction. Get ye out then quickly, for the merciful God hath hearkened unto the prayer of the maiden, and hath regarded the toil and labour of her kinsfolk; and behold, His lovingkindness hath made known and revealed unto me in this hour that relief from her affliction hath come unto the maiden. Thus this wonderful thing hath taken place." And the brethren went forth and found the kinsfolk of the maiden rejoicing, and their daughter was freed from [Page 59] and was completely healed from her affliction.

And at the same time there went forth from Egypt two brethren to visit the blessed Anthony, and when

they were near to arrive at the place where he was it fell out that the water failed, and they were so completely brought low for want thereof that, by reason of his great tribulation, one of them departed from this world, and his companion was well nigh departing likewise. Then the blessed man called suddenly unto two of those brethren who happened to be with him, and said to them, "Take ye a little water in a vessel and get ye down quickly on the road to Egypt, for two brethren set out together to come to us, but when they had left behind them the greater part of the mountain road they lacked water; one of them hath already fainted and died, and the other is nigh unto death, [and will die], if ye do not speedily overtake him. For thus hath it appeared to me when I was praying." And the brethren having made haste arrived at the place and found [a dead man] according to what had been said to them, and they took up the body of him that was dead and carried it away, and they fed him, in whom the spirit was still found to be, with bread and water, and took him and brought him with care to the old man. Now the blessed man was distant from them a journey of two days. And if any man ask why and wherefore the vision did not appear unto the blessed Anthony before the man died he will ask that which is unseemly, for it belonged not to him to know what God was meditating concerning every man; this thing belongeth unto God only Who, whensoever He pleaseth, maketh a revelation unto him that feareth Him.

And the blessed Anthony possessed this wonderful attribute. When he was dwelling in the mountain his mind was alert and watchful to observe and to see, by the operation of the Holy Spirit which dwelt in him, that which was afar off as if it were near. For, on another occasion when he was in the mountain, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and suddenly saw a man being taken up therein; and wonderment having fallen

upon him [Page 60] he magnified [God] and ascribed blessings unto him that had been accounted worthy of this [honour], and he besought the Lord that he might know who the man was who had attained unto such exalted greatness. And suddenly a voice from heaven was heard, saying, "This is the soul of the blessed "man Ammon who used to dwell in the country of Nitria." Now Ammon was a mighty man and a valiant fighter [in the ascetic life], and he had been a monk from his early manhood even unto his old age, and the end of his life was greater than the beginning thereof; and the distance of the country of Nitria from the mountain wherein dwelt the blessed man Anthony was a journey of thirteen days. And when those who were found with the old man Anthony saw him marvelling in this manner concerning the blessed Ammon, they entreated him that they might learn when his departure from the world took place, and he informed them that it had happened when the revelation had appeared unto him.

And there was also another famous man with whom many were acquainted, for he used to come very frequently to the blessed Anthony, and many glorious deeds and signs and wonders were wrought by his hands unto our Lord. Now on a certain occasion one reason or another made it necessary for the blessed Ammon to cross the river, the name of which was Dâbhâ,¹ and he had with him the righteous man, [who was called] Theodore; and this blessed man also was mighty in the ascetic life. And when they had come nigh unto the river, and were standing on the bank they agreed that each should go away a short distance from the other so that they might not see each other's nakedness as they were crossing the river. Now when the righteous man Theodore had removed himself

¹ Flumen nomine Lycum subitis aquis inundatum transvadere; see Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 51, col. 2.

from him, the blessed man Ammon began to have shame even of himself, and whilst he was in this state of mind suddenly Divine Grace seized him, and set him up upon the [other] side of the river; and when the righteous man Theodore had crossed the river, he drew nigh unto the blessed Ammon, and examined him attentively, [and found] that his feet had not been dipped in the water, and that not a drop of water had touched either his body or his garments. Then Theodore began to entreat Ammon to inform him how [Page 61] his passage over the river had been effected, and when he saw that he was making many excuses about it and was debating the matter he became certain in his mind that it was Divine Grace which had taken him across the river. And he persisted strongly in questioning Ammon, and took hold of his feet, and said unto him, "Yes, or no? I will not leave thee until "thou hast shewn me" [this thing]. Now when the old man Ammon saw the persistence of the righteous man Theodore, and [remembered] especially the word which had gone forth to him, he entreated him to make the matter known to no man until his departure from this world had been effected, and then he revealed to him that he had indeed been carried across the river, and that he had never walked upon the water thereof at all. And this thing our Lord Himself did by His own power, and He made the great Apostle Peter to do so, and it was done [by Ammon] also by the command of our Lord; and [it was only] after the old man Ammon was dead that this matter was spoken of by the righteous man Theodore, according to the agreement which he had made with Ammon.

Now the brethren, who had heard from the blessed Anthony the story of the departure of the old man Ammon from the world, bore in mind the day and the hour wherein it took place, and three days later, when certain brethren came from the country of Nitria, they enquired of them concerning the death of the blessed

Ammon, and they learned that the days of the old man had come to an end at the very moment and at the very hour when the blessed Anthony had spoken to them, and when he himself saw Ammon being taken up into heaven. Then the brethren did indeed marvel among themselves concerning the purity of the soul of the blessed Anthony, and how he had seen performed clearly and openly before him that which had taken place at a distance of a journey of thirteen days, that is to say, the ascension of the soul of the blessed Ammon into heaven.

And moreover, there came unto him Archelaus $\bar{\kappa}\acute{o}\varsigma\acute{o}\varsigma$,¹ and he found him in the outer mountain praying by himself, and he made entreaty unto him on behalf of the nun $\bar{\rho}\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Polycratia), who was from the city of Laodicea, and was faithful and devoted to the ascetic life; now she was much afflicted by pains in her stomach and in her right side, and, in short, her whole body was in a state of suffering. And when the blessed man had prayed for her, [Page 62] Archelaus wrote down the day and the hour in which the prayer had been made, and after this the blessed man dismissed him, and he returned to his own country; and when he had gone to the province of Laodicea he found $\bar{\rho}\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Polycratia) the nun in perfect health. Then he asked at what time she had found deliverance from her sufferings, and by what means it had been brought about, and they related to him that the mercy of God had been poured out upon her at a certain time suddenly, and that she had felt relief and found herself made whole and free from the violent pains of her disease. And immediately that the words of their narrative concerning her illness had come to an end, Archelaus brought forth the paper whereon were written the day and hour wherein the prayer

¹ $\bar{\kappa}\acute{o}\varsigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ = $\bar{\kappa}\acute{o}\varsigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ = Count; Rosweyde (p. 51) has "Archelaus quoque Comes."

had been made on behalf of the believing woman Pùlakratîâ (Polycratia), and the words of their narrative agreed with those which were written on his paper as if they had been written down [at the same time] with a pen.¹ Then wonder laid hold upon every man, and they all admitted openly that the time at which the prayer was made by the blessed man was precisely that at which relief had come to her.

And multitudes of things similar to those which have already been described were performed by his hands; and also when the brethren used to set out to come from Egypt to him he knew it beforehand and was able to declare it to those who happened to be with him, and it was revealed unto him sometimes even months and days beforehand that they were coming to him, and the reason for their journey. For some used to come to him merely to see him, and others [came] that they might be with him for a few days, and others came to him because of their diseases and afflictions of various kinds; and no man found that long road exhausting or fell into despair thereon, because the relief which each man obtained from the blessed Anthony was greater than the toil which he had endured thereon. And when a man saw these triumphs, and felt anxious to narrate them, the blessed man used to entreat him not to marvel [Page 63] at these deeds, but to wonder at the Divine Grace of God which considered unworthy and feeble men worthy of such great [care].

And on one occasion the brethren entreated him to visit their monasteries, and when they had come to a certain place they besought him to embark in a boat and to cross over the river; and when he had gone up into the boat a foul and fetid smell smote him suddenly. And when the brethren heard of this, they

¹ Percontatus diem sanitatis, reperit tempus medelae cum annotatione congruere. Rosweyde, p. 51, col. 2.

answered and said unto him, "Master, this smell ariseth "from the fish and the salted meat with which the boat "is loaded,"¹ but he would not be persuaded that it was so, and he said, "This smell ariseth not from these "things." Now whilst he was ending his words a young man, in whom was an evil spirit, was found in the boat, and as soon as he saw the blessed man he shrank away from him straightway; but when the devil abused him, he cried out and uttered threats against the blessed man from among the people. Then the blessed Anthony turned himself round, and rebuked him, and silenced him, and immediately the young man felt the deliverance from him; and every man was persuaded that the smell was that of the devil whereat they had wondered.

And again there came to him a certain well-known man who was very sorely tried by an unclean spirit, and he was so distressed through him that his mind was carried away, and he was unable to understand any question which was asked of him; and in his whole body there was not a spot which was not lacerated by his bites, and those who had brought him took him to the blessed man Anthony and besought him to pray for him. Then the old man Anthony looked upon him, and his mercy having revealed itself, he took him by the hand, and made him stand up, and he knelt down on his knees before him, and he watched with him the whole night. And at the time of dawn the young man approached the blessed Anthony from behind his back, and smote him, and those who had brought him began to rebuke him; but the blessed man answered and said unto them, "Let no man be wroth against "him; this act is not of him, [Page 64] but of the "evil one who is in him, for he hath been commanded "to depart from that which God hath created, and to

¹ Asserebant cuncti, piscium salvorum et tarichorum in navi positorum hunc esse putorem. Rosweyde, p. 52.

"return to his place, and he is, in consequence, incensed" "with him, and hath done this thing. Glorify ye then "God, because of this thing which hath taken place, "for it hath given unto you a sign whereby ye may be "sure that God hath wrought for him deliverance." And when the blessed Anthony had said these things straightway the young man was made whole, and he knew himself,² and remembered where he was, and through whom deliverance had come unto him, and then he began to salute the blessed man, and to confess God with many loud protestations. Now believing men have related very many [wonderful] things like unto this, but in comparison to the other deeds which were wrought by the blessed man these are not very important.

On one occasion he stood up to pray at the ninth hour, and he perceived that his mind was exalted, and, what was still more wonderful, that whilst he was on the earth his mind was transformed, and he did not feel that he was upon the earth. For he saw that his soul was not being lifted up by the power of his mind, but was being governed by the angels; and when he himself was raised up, he saw other beings who came and stood opposite to him, and they prevented him from passing on. And they said, "Let us see of what "kind are his deeds, and if we cannot by any means "make him to be taken (*or*, held) by us." Then those who were guiding him turned round and rebuked them, and said unto them, "Our Lord by His grace blotted "out his shortcomings and his sins before he became "a disciple, but ye are embodied in his triumphs and "in his works and deeds [which took place] after he "had become a disciple;" and thereupon his soul was immediately exalted to the place unto which it attained. And after this his mind took up its abode in him, and

¹ Read *إذ*.

² *I. e.*, came to himself.

he felt and perceived that which had happened to him; and he magnified and gave thanks to (*or*, confessed) God by reason of everything which had taken place, and [he remained] in prayer the whole night which followed that day, and he tasted no food of any kind whatsoever therein.

And a man must also marvel at the severity [Page 65] of our contest, and at the great labour by which he passeth to this air; and he must remember and say, "This is the word of the Apostle who spake, 'saying, 'Your contending is against the ruler who 'holdeth the power of this world.'"¹ For this reason the Apostle himself commanded, saying, "Put on the 'armour of God in order that ye may be able to stand 'against him in the evil day,"² so that the Enemy may have no occasion in any way to say about us that we have been sorely put to shame. And, my beloved, in connexion with the history of the blessed man let us remember the matter of the Apostle, who said, "Whether in the body or out of the body, I 'know not; God knoweth."³ Now the blessed Paul was snatched up into the third heaven, and heard words which may not be uttered, and came down [again]; but the blessed Anthony was lifted up unto the place to which he was lifted up, and he received a pledge of the confidence of his labour, and he returned and took up his abode with himself. And the [sign of] grace was also found with him. Whensoever he had in his mind any matter the truth of which he could not comprehend with his thoughts, he would make supplication in his prayer, and it would be revealed unto him, and in all these things he was taught by God, even as it is written.⁴

¹ Ephesians VI. 12.

² Ephesians VI. 13.

³ 2 Corinthians XII. 2.

⁴ St. John VI. 45; Isaiah LIV. 13.

And after these things he had a disputation with certain men who came to him about the ordering and disposition of the soul, and the place to which it went after its departure [from the body]. Then, on another day, he heard a voice from heaven, which said, "Anthony, get thee forth, and thou shalt see." And, moreover, this thing had also been wrought for him: he was able to distinguish between heavenly voices and the voices of enemies. And he lifted up his eyes and saw the form of a man which was immeasurably abominable; his head reached up into the heavens, and round about him, on all sides, were numbers of beings, some of which were flying about with their wings, and were soaring up above him; and he put forth his hands that he might lay hold[†] of some [of them], but he was not able to do so. Now those winged beings who were flying about were those who had preserved (*or*, guarded) their faith [Page 66] and their works; but the others he could lay hold of because they were those who had not received the faith, and who were remote from works. Then the blessed Anthony saw that the form of the man was gnashing his teeth with bitterness at those who were being lifted up into life, for [that] son of perdition would have been content that every man should perish with him. And straightway a voice came unto the blessed Anthony, and said, "Know thou "that which hath been made;" and then he understood that this was the passage (*or*, bridge) of souls, and that he who was standing in the midst was Satan, the enemy of righteousness. Such was the vision which came unto him, and it roused him up and incited him exceedingly to triumph in his old age.

Now these things were not related by his will, but the brethren who saw him when he was sighing during his prayer to God perceived that something had been seen by him, and they clung to him and pressed him

[†] Read *παύει*.

with entreaties to inform them what had happened. And having examined his mind, and seen that it was free from boasting, he decided within himself that the report of such things as these would certainly admonish the youthful monks to stand up like mighty warriors in the war which the Enemy maketh against us, and not to be caught by him in any way, so that he might not be able to lift up his heel against us; and having thus decided he revealed and made known unto them the whole matter even as it appeared unto them. For he was exceedingly longsuffering in respect of the things which were fitting, and he was thoroughly meek in spirit, and in all these things he preserved scrupulously the Canons of the Church, and made answer unto every man according to his grade and rank. Unto Bishops and Elders he paid honour like a man who was in duty bound so to do, and he was not ashamed to bow his head before them at the time of the Blessing; but deacons he received with joy and with affection, and although, like a father, he made them to hear words of righteousness and admonition, during the time of prayer he would set them in front by reason of the authority which had once been given unto them by God. He meditated continually upon righteousness, [Page 67] and he did not seek only to make another hear the Word, but he himself rejoiced to hear it, and he was never ashamed to do so, even though he was an old man and a famous one; but on several occasions he asked questions of those who were with him at all times, and entreated that he might hear that which was suitable to his life and deeds, and he would confess that he had been benefited whensoever a subject of this kind was debated among them.

And the countenance of the blessed man was clothed with the splendour of praise, and wonder thereat laid hold upon every man. Whensoever it happened that he was with many people, and it fell out that a man came there who had never seen the blessed Anthony,

his eyes would glance quickly over all the people, and he would gaze intently upon them all, and would [at once] distinguish the newcomer, who, by reason of the splendour of grace which dwelt in the blessed man, would, as if drawn by cords, leave the other people and boldly make his way direct to him. Now this did not arise because the stature of the blessed Anthony was greater than that of any other man, or because his external appearance was more beautiful than that of any other man, but by reason of those spiritual triumphs which were within [him], even as it is written, "A good heart maketh beautiful the body; and an evil heart maketh gloomy the countenance."¹ And, moreover, Jacob discerned by the appearance of the countenance of Laban that he was meditating fraud concerning him, for he said² unto his wives, "I see that the face of your father is not towards me as it was yesterday and formerly;" and in the same manner Samuel recognized David, for his eyes were beautiful³ and his features were joyous. And thus was it also in the case of the blessed Anthony, and by such indications he was known by those who saw him; when he was troubled [they saw that] his visage was disturbed, and when he was angry that his thoughts were ruffled.

And, moreover, he was immeasurably firm in the faith, and he held fast thereunto with honour and discretion (*or*, discernment); he did not conduct himself in the matter of faith like a man who made himself a stranger unto the children of men, [Page 68] or like one who dwelt in the desert, either in common with other monks, or by himself; and he would not receive the people who used to go to him without question and also enquiry. For he never joined himself to the

¹ Proverbs XVII. 22.

² Genesis XXXI. 5.

³ I Samuel XVI. 12.

Meletian heretics' who were in Egypt, for from the very beginning he was well acquainted with their dissensions (*or*, schisms), and their restlessness, and he never took count at all of the other heresies, and he even exhorted every man to withdraw himself from them, for he used to say, "Neither in the discussion of them nor "in their result is there any advantage." Similarly the Arian heretics were so detestable and contemptible in his sight that he withdrew himself altogether from having any dealings with them, and he also exhorted other people to keep themselves far from their words and their doctrines. And it happened on one occasion that some of these Arians went to him, but when he had enquired at their hands, and he had asked them questions and learned that they belonged to the dough of the leaven of Arius, the unbeliever, he drove them forth from his presence like the other wild beasts and vipers. And he said unto them, "Ye are more bitter "and more evil than the beasts of prey and deadly "serpents." Now on one occasion the Arians spread a report and made a scandal which they cast upon the world, and they went about, saying, "Anthony hath "agreed to our faith and hath accepted it," and when this report came to his ears, astonishment laid hold upon him, and he marvelled greatly at the falsehood of the Arians, and how easily error came to them through the impudence of their minds.

Now when the bishops and the other brethren saw that the wickedness of the Arians was prevailing, and that they had spread this report through the whole city, they entreated the blessed man to exert himself a little in order that those liars might be put to great shame; and he was persuaded by them to go down to the city of Alexandria, and to proclaim openly there that the Arians were [Page 69] blasphemers, so that

¹ *I. e.*, the followers of Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis; he was deposed for his irregular behaviour A.D. 306.

their iniquity might come back upon their own heads. And having gone down [to Alexandria] a vast multitude of people thronged there at the report [of the coming of] the blessed man, and when all the people were gathered together [to him] he admonished and exhorted them in a loud voice to beware of the error of the Arians, and he said, "This [*i. e.*, Arianism] "is the essence of all heresies, and it is the work of "the Christs of falsehood; get ye away then from them "afar off that ye become not corrupted by them. God "forbid that the Son of God should be proclaimed to "be a thing¹ which hath been made, or that He should "be named as something which came from nothing. "For He is of the substance of the Father, and He is "His Child, and it is therefore great wickedness for a "man to say that there was ever a time when He was "not; for the Word existed at all times with God. "Therefore flee ye from association with them, lest ye "have a portion in their blasphemy, for light hath "no connexion with darkness, and ye must have no "connexion whatsoever with them, and ye must have no "likeness to or association with them, for ye are in the "righteousness of your faith believing Christians, and "those who say that the Son of the Living God is a "created thing are in no wise different from the heathen. "Believe me, O my beloved, that the very creatures "are far more to be desired than those who worship "the creatures in preference to their Creator, and who "confound and compare the creatures with the Lord "and Creator of the universe."

Thereupon all the people held the Arians to be like other heretics, and they were esteemed in their sight wholly as blasphemers and unbelievers, and all men were confirmed in the correct view concerning the faith. Then [the people of] the city, both the

¹ Literally, "a creation."

Christians and the Armâyê,¹ and also those who were called "priests,"² ran into the church to see the "man of God," for by this name and title was he called; and in that city also our Lord wrought by the hand of the blessed man many signs and wonders, and so many of those whose [Page 70] minds had been injured through error obtained through him the means of healing that more people became Christians on that day than in the whole year [previously]. And large numbers of the heathen entreated to be allowed to see the blessed man, and to draw nigh unto the cloak of the righteous man; to this wonderful pass did the measure of the power of the blessed man come. Now when the brethren saw that a great uproar had arisen, and that the people were troubling him by thronging about him, they made a way through them and surrounded him, for they thought that he would be choked by the throng; but the blessed man answered and said unto them quietly, and with a smile, "Let the people perform their desire. For what think ye? Is it not as easy for me to bear with this crowd of believers as the throng of devils which are in the desert?"

And when he had made an end of all these things in Alexandria he went forth to depart into the wilderness, and the whole city clave unto him; and when he had come to the side of the gate of the city, a certain woman came running with all her strength after the crowd, and cried out, "Wait a little for me, O man of God. My daughter is grievously vexed by a devil and tormented, and I beseech thee to wait, and let healing be to my daughter; and moreover, let not my soul be carried out of [my body] through running overmuch." And when the voice was heard by the

¹ The "Armâyê" are usually Syrians, but here the Armâyê appear to be the mixed multitudes of the city of Alexandria and its suburbs who were not Christians.

² *I. e.*, heathen priests.

ears of the old man, he paused and stood still until the woman drew nigh unto him and cast her daughter down by his feet. Then the blessed man looked up to heaven and cried out the Name of Christ over the devil, and straightway the damsel stood up, and turned towards her mother, being freed from the subjection of the Evil One; and every man gave thanks unto God, and the mother of the damsel also glorified him that had wrought deliverance for her. And immediately after the blessed man had performed this work he turned [again] to his journey, for he rejoiced exceedingly at his going to the desert, and he was even like unto [Page 71] the man who rejoiceth at going [again], after a long absence, to his own house, and the house of his kinsfolk. Now the blessed Anthony was a wise man, and he was one who was full of understanding, and it was a very great wonder in the sight of men how such knowledge and understanding could dwell in a man who had not learned to read or to write.

On one occasion there came unto him two philosophers to try him (now he was living on the outer mountain), and so soon as he perceived them afar off he knew and discerned what they were by their garb. And having gone forth to meet them, he said unto them by means of his interpreters, "Why have ye given yourselves all this trouble to come and see a man of low estate?" and they answered him [in these] word[s], "Thou art not a man of low estate, but a wise man." Then, after he had understood (*or*, tasted) their words, he began to say unto them, "If ye had come to a man of low estate ye would have given yourselves all this trouble in vain, but if your words are true, and if ye indeed believe that I am a wise man, become ye even as I am, for it is meet that we should at all times be zealous to obtain the things which are fair. Had it happened that I had come unto you I should have been compelled to become like unto you; and now that ye have come unto me, become ye Christians

"like myself." And when these philosophers heard these words, and saw in what a state of subjection the devils stood before him, they marvelled exceedingly and turned away on their heels in silence.

After these there also came unto him others who were like unto them to the outer mountain; now they came prepared to make a mock of him as if he had been a fool, for they had heard that he possessed no learning. And when they had pressed their talk upon him after this manner, the old man said unto them, "I will ask you a question, and ye shall return me an answer. Which is the older, learning or the mind? And which is the source (*or*, cause) of the other? Is learning the source of the mind, or the mind of learning?" Then the philosophers said unto him, "The mind is the prince of learning, for it hath [Page 72] discovered learning." And he said unto them, "Doth not then the man whose mind is enlightened and bright surpass greatly [him that hath only] learning? For by the first word [which he uttereth] do men test a man, and they understand whether he possesseth a wise and understanding mind [or not];" then they also marvelled at what they had seen and heard, and they likewise went back to their own country.

For he was a man whose intelligence was profound, and he was wise and exceedingly understanding, and he was not in any way like unto a man who had been brought up in the desert from his youth. And when he became old and waxed aged he was simple in his speech, and austere and stern(?) in his mind, but still he was perfect and complete in everything, and every [good] quality was found in him in the state which was most fitting. Now his speech, even as we have already said, was so exceedingly savoury and so well seasoned with heavenly salt, that none of his hearers could be angry at his words, and no man could be envious of the acts of his daily life, for he was ready and prepared to hear and answer every kind of opinion.

Now on another occasion it happened that certain men, who were wise according to the world and who were received gladly among the Greeks, went to him, and began to ask him questions concerning the faith which is in our Lord Jesus Christ, wishing to confound him in a discussion concerning the matter of the Cross and of the preaching of our Lord, and having seen that they were ready to scoff and to mock, he bore with them a little, and then, having observed them, he roared greatly in his heart concerning the error which dwelt in them. Then he spake unto them by means of an interpreter, who was exceedingly skilled in translating words from the Egyptian into the Greek language, and he said unto them first of all, "Which is the easier? "For a man to confess the Cross, or to believe that "adultery, and fornication, and impure acts with men "are committed by those who are called 'gods.' For "the [doctrine] which is spoken and believed by us is "a mark and a likeness of the men by whom [Page 73] "death is held in contempt, and the world is considered "to be of no account, but the religion which ye preach "is a service of impurity, and the desire of foul lusts. "Which thing then is more beneficial for us to believe? "That [Christ] is the Son of God, and that that which "He was in His Godhead was in no way changed, although through His care for the redemption of the "children of men He took upon Himself the body of "our human nature, and with His Godhead was mingled "therewith, so that by means of His union with our "human nature He might mingle it with His Godhead, "or that we should liken God unto beasts and cattle, "and that in consequence thereof man should make "himself like unto the similitudes of beasts and of the "creeping things of the earth and should worship them? "Now, our belief proclaimeth that the coming of Christ "took place for the redemption of the children of men, "and that it should not be unto us a cause for fornication, and falsehood, and injustice (*or*, avarice), and

“gluttony, and drunkenness, and lasciviousness, and the
“rest of the luxurious practices which exist in the world.
“And we exhort and admonish [men to avoid] all these
“things, for a penalty hath been decreed for every man
“who shall dare to transgress in respect of one of these
“things. Now ye, through the fable of error labour
“in the work of abomination, but we, because we have
“trust in the power and lovingkindness (*or*, mercy) of
“God, believe that the preaching of the Cross is easiest
“for us [to follow]. And ye, without any discernment,
“ascribe all kinds of hateful practices to your gods, so
“that ye without any further thought may do every-
“thing [ye please].”

“And moreover, as concerning the soul ye say that
“it is an image of the mind (*or*, understanding), and
“when ye have meditated well upon this subject ye go
“back and say that it will be dissolved; and therefore,
“because of this opinion which cometh from [your] study,
“ye lay it down that the mind itself will be divided
“(*or*, broken up) and changed. For, of necessity, the
“image must in its form and similitude be exactly like
“that of which it is the copy [Page 74]; and ye should
“know that when ye think in this manner about the
“mind that ye also blaspheme the Father thereof.”

“And in respect of the Cross, which is it better for
“us to say? That it endureth patiently the anger of
“the attack of the madness of our human nature, and
“that it neither departeth by death, nor doth the terrible
“death which striketh fear into the mighty man come
“unto it, or [shall we ascribe to it] the error, and the
“allegories, and the cunning plans, and the vain stories,
“and the incitements [to sin], and the flight, and the
“mockery, and the shame, which are written down in
“your fables, wherein your gods took refuge when strife
“and death came upon each one of them? For such
“things are the wisdom of your wisdom. And where-
“fore do ye make a mockery of the Cross only and
“hold not in wonder the Resurrection? For those who

"have written [the account of] Christ's crucifixion have
"also proclaimed His Resurrection. And why, when ye
"make mention of the Cross, do ye not also recount
"the miracles, and the Resurrection from the dead, and
"all the other things also, that is to say, [the restoration
"of] the sight of the blind, and the cleansing of the
"lepers, and the healing of the paralytics, and the walk-
"ing upon the waters? For from these ye would be
"able to have understanding of Christ, and ye would
"learn that He was not only a man but God also.
"Indeed, ye appear to me to act wholly unjustly. For
"ye do not judge matters rightly, and the Scriptures
"are not read in a proper manner by you; and since
"certain things are accepted and believed in by you,
"whilst others, which are akin to them, are not, where
"is your fair dealing in this matter?

"Narrate ye now unto us your scriptures, and explain
"ye unto us what is therein. What are the animals
"which are worshipped, and what are the reptiles unto
"which are given the names of gods, except subjects
"for mockery and disgrace? But if a man void of
"understanding cometh to you ye liken each one of
"them [unto gods] in the speech of rational beings, and
"ye expound the unlikely things [which are declared
"concerning them] so that the foolish may think [Page 75]
"that they are true. Ye give names to the earth, and
"to the heavens, and the sun, and the moon, and the
"air, and the sea, and the fire, and the waters, and to
"other created things, and ye call them gods, that ye
"may lead man astray thereby from the One God Who
"is the Creator of the universe. The quest of the God
"of truth is not among you, and ye are found worship-
"ping the things which have been created rather than
"Him Who created them. For, if ye gave the names
"of gods to such similitudes because created things
"were so exceedingly beautiful, it would have been
"sufficient for you to be able to admire them, without
"holding them in such absolute and singular honour in

"your minds. And because of this opinion of error
 "which dwelleth in your mind it is not difficult for you
 "either to divert to the house which He hath fashioned
 "and adorned the honour which is due to the Master-
 "handicraftsman, or to hold lightly the king, and to
 "ascribe the glory which is His due to His household
 "which ministereth unto him. What then have ye to
 "urge against these [words], O wise men? [Speak,] so
 "that we may know if there be in the Cross anything
 "which meriteth mockery." And when the blessed man
 had spoken unto them in this fashion the things which
 they could not endure to hear from him, they began
 to look to the right hand and to the left.

Now when the blessed man knew that they were
 silently seeking to make objections to his words, he
 spake unto them again through an interpreter, saying,
 "The work (*i. e.*, proof) of these my words is also their
 "testimony; but because ye yourselves take refuge in
 "words of guile and falsehood, and because ye employ
 "them with the greatest skill, ye desire that we, like
 "yourselves, shall also journey on without the truth of
 "investigation. Shew ye me now briefly the work [*or*,
 "proof] of [your] words. First of all, How can the
 "knowledge of God be truly comprehended? Which
 "is the older: the faith which is in works, and this is
 "true knowledge". The old man saith
 unto them, "Ye have well said, for faith is the sign of
 "the [Page 76] love which is made perfect in the soul.
 "For discussion cometh from words which are strung
 "together, and therefore the faith which is in works,
 "and which is closely united to them, is not sought after,
 "because the quest of words is superfluous; for the
 "matters which we comprehend by faith ye try by every
 "means to represent by comparisons and similitudes,
 "and howsoever much ye weary yourselves ye will
 "never be able to narrate the things the truth of

¹ A portion of the text is wanting here.

"which we have comprehended. It is, therefore, well
"known and evident that our faith which is in works
"is far more excellent than your wisdom [which con-
"sisteth of] a discussion of words, and that your
"wisdom cannot by any means be [rightly] compared
"therewith.

"For we Christians have not acquired the mystery
"of life through the wisdom of strange words, but by
"the power of faith which hath been given unto us by
"God, the Lord of all; and that the[se] word[s] are true
"accept the proof from the following. Behold, we are
"not learned in books, yet we believe in God, and we
"possess understanding concerning His creation, and
"concerning the mercy of the Providence of His grace,
"and we have confidence through the faith of Jesus
"Christ that our faith is sure, [whilst] ye have only
"words which are full of contentions; in your case the
"phantom of the adornment of your idols gradually
"cometh to an end, but in ours our faith increaseth and
"becometh more abundant day by day everywhere. In
"your case, in spite of the abundance of your discussions
"and wisdom, ye have no power to turn even one
"Christian to paganism, but in ours by the faith of
"Christ which we preach, we despise your doctrine,
"and there is in your well-ordered, carefully arranged,
"and polished words no power which can do away the
"teaching of Christ. And, moreover, we by means of
"the Cross which ye hold in contempt chase away and
"put to flight those devils which ye worship as gods,
"and wheresoever the name of the Cross is mentioned
"all the crafts and wiles of error come to an end. If
"it be divination, it is destroyed, and if it be sorcery
"it is made an end of; and that such hath been done
"in very truth ye must admit when ye are asked by
"us [Page 77] 'Where is divination? Where are the
"magicians who were in Egypt? Where are the
"phantoms of the error of the sorcerers? When were
"these things which appertain unto you destroyed

“except when the Cross of Christ was mentioned?”
“Is then this Cross worthy to be despised? Judge ye
“this matter in your souls, and consider it also and
“marvel thereat. It is a matter of wonder that your
“doctrine hath never before been a subject for persecution,
“and that it hath only become so at this time when
“Christian kings [live] in honour and majesty in every
“place.

“In proportion as persecution cometh your doctrine
“hideth itself, but ours, against which storms in-
“numerable have arrayed themselves, becometh stronger
“and stronger. Your doctrine, notwithstanding that
“it is praised and magnified, becometh despised and
“rejected, whilst ours although held in contempt is great
“in its acts and glorious in its operation, and being
“harassed [spreadeth] from one end of the earth even
“unto the other without men taking care about it. For
“when did the knowledge of God come down into the
“world, and chastity flourish, and virginity shed its
“light abroad, and death become held in contempt, if it
“be not after the Cross of victory came and triumphed
“throughout all the earth? And of this fact no man
“can have any doubt, when he considereth the blessed
“martyrs by whom death was despised because of the
“victory of the Cross. And behold, do we not see that
“the Church rejoiceth in innumerable congregations of
“virgins, both men and women, who preserve their
“bodies in all holiness? These are the true likenesses
“which make known and shew forth the faith of Christ,
“which is a living confidence and a knowledge in faith
“unto those who put their trust therein. Now if ye
“have been in doubt [concerning these things] up to
“this present, it is because your mind (*or*, opinion)
“hath been fettered with words of binding and loosing,
“the end of which ye will never be able to find; for
“we do not, like you, go astray through the blandish-
“ment of the words of alien wisdom, but, according to
“what our Teacher spake, [Page 78] we give a proof of

"our faith, and we readily make manifest in the clearest possible manner the truth of our opinion unto every one who wisheth [to see it]."

And behold, there were in that place certain men who were suffering from injuries to their bodies, and the blessed man commanded them, and they came forth and stood in the midst; then he answered and said unto those wise men, "Draw nigh now and, by whatsoever means ye wish and will, whether by the wisdom of your renowned idols, or by your sorceries and enchantments, give the word, and let these afflicted souls have relief from their sufferings. But if ye are not able so to do, stand aside and cease your hostile attacks upon us, and ye shall straightway see the power of the Cross of Christ." Then he made the sign of the Cross over them three times, and the people were healed immediately and stood up; and when those philosophers saw [this] they praised him greatly, and they marvelled in very deed at the understanding of the man, and at the visible sign which had been wrought by his hand. And the blessed man said unto them, "Why marvel ye at this thing? It is not we who have done this, but Christ Who is wont to do such like things by the hands of those who fear Him. Therefore do you also believe even as do we, and become like us, and see that we possess none of the handicraft of devils, but only the faith which is made perfect by means of the love of Christ, our Lord Jesus. If ye possess this also ye have no need of the quest of much discussion, for the deed itself will convince you that it is not by words but by manifest works that our doctrine increaseth and giveth the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ." Such were the words which the blessed man spake unto those philosophers, who tarried to hear [them], and who put to the test and then received the proof of all the [mental] adornment of the old man; and thus having received his grace, they applauded his words and his

acts, and having saluted him with great honour they returned to their own country.

Now the fame of the blessed man reached [Page 79] even unto the king and the princes, and the Emperor Constantine and his sons *Kûsnâtis* (Constantius) and *Kûstôs* (Constans) heard concerning his works and triumphs, and they began to write epistles unto him as unto a father and to entreat him to pray for them, and they longed greatly to become the recipients of letters from him. Now he did not write letters quickly, and he did not consider too highly or boast about those which he received, but he continued to preserve the humility and sweetness of disposition which he possessed before he received the imperial epistles, and after he had received them he remained unchanged. Whensoever he received the imperial letters he would call and gather together the monks who happened to be with him, and say unto them, "Ye marvel, perhaps, that the kings and the princes should write epistles unto us, but what [need] is there for wonder, seeing that it is only one man writing letters to another; but what ye should wonder at is how God wrote the Law for the children of men, and how He hath spoken unto us through His only Son." He preferred, however, not to receive epistles which were sent unto him by the king and the princes, for he said, "It is not in my power to write epistles like theirs;" but inasmuch as the king and the princes were Christians he did not consider it seemly that their epistles should be held lightly, lest they might become offended and be displeased, and he permitted them to be read before every one who happened to be with him.

Now the manner in which he wrote his epistles [in answer] was as follows:—In the first place he magnified [those to whom they were addressed], and returned thanks because they were worshippers of Christ, and he gave them advice and united thereto the counsels which were suitable, and which would

benefit them both in this world and in that which is to come. And he told them that the wearisome labours which were visible should not be accounted overmuch by them, and exhorted them to remember the judgment which is to come, and that it is Christ Who is the true [Page 80] and everlasting king. And he advised them to let lovingkindness be found in them, and to be careful for that which is right, and to have considerate regard for the poor. Kings used to receive him and rejoice in him greatly, and he was greatly esteemed by every man, and regarded as a righteous father.

Whensoever certain matters had to be done, and certain things had to be talked about he was in the habit of going back to the inner mountain, and as something which was gratifying unto him he would work his triumphs there. On many occasions when he was sitting with those who went to him, or was walking about, he would hold his peace for a long time, and would keep wholly to himself according to that which is written in [the book of] Daniel;¹ and after a season he would utter in its order the word which would bind him to the brethren. Now those who saw him [act] in this manner use to know that some vision had appeared unto him, and indeed on several occasions when he was in the mountain he saw things which were being wrought in Egypt; and Serapion² the Bishop related that during the whole of the time which he remained with him he had seen the blessed man for several days at a time labouring seriously with visions in this manner.

One day whilst he was sitting down at work on the palm leaves he fell into a state of profound stupefaction, and remained for an exceedingly long time

¹ Daniel VIII. 26(?).

² Bishop of Thmuis, the site of which city is marked by the Arab village Tamai al-Amdîd; he was surnamed 'Scholasticus', and died about A.D. 360.

therein seeing a vision of revelation, and he groaned frequently, and after a season he turned round to those who happened to be with him, and groaned again; and he trembled greatly, and began to pray, and he bent his knees and [then] stood up with his eyes full of tears. Now those who saw the old man thus troubled were beginners in the monastic life, and they were greatly moved and were afraid with a great fear; and after a season they began to entreat him to tell him what was the vision which he had seen, and which had troubled him in this fashion. Then when they had pressed him he sighed the more, and said unto them [Page 81], "It would be "much better for me to die than for that which hath "appeared unto me to happen." And being urged by their entreaty, he spake sadly and excitedly, saying, "Great "wrath is coming upon the Church, which is about to "be delivered over to men who are in no wise different "from the wild animals. I have seen an altar surrounded by mules which without mercy kicked all "the people, both great and small, for they were as "excited as a drove of horses which have been turned "loose without bridles. When I sighed concerning these "things, even ye heard the sound of my sighs, and I "heard a voice which said, 'My altar shall be defiled.'" Such were the things which the old man saw. Two years later¹ the trouble with the Arians took place, and the spoliation of the churches by the hands of the pagans in the sight of all the people of the city who were gathered together, and they caused the performance of the holy service to be set aside and abrogated. Now these pagans went forth into the streets of the city, and they thronged them and brought forth people from their shops, and compelled them to assemble with them, and before their eyes they performed the service of the Church and [administered] the Holy Mysteries. It was then that we understood

¹ *I. e.*, about A.D. 343.

[what] the kickings of the mules [meant], that is to say [the vision] which had appeared unto the blessed man, and the whole work which was wrought with such iniquity and wickedness by the hands of the Arians in the Church.

Now when the blessed man saw this vision, and perceived that it was very grievous to the brethren, he consoled them, and said, "My beloved sons, be not "afflicted, for as God is angry now even so will He "become pacified again, and after no [great] interval "between these trials and injuries rest and peace shall "come upon the Church of God. And ye shall see "those who have been persecuted for righteousness' "sake return to their places, and the Evil One, together "with those who work his will, shall turn on his heels, "and the horn of the righteous men who hold the "true faith shall be exalted, and shall openly proclaim "[Page 82] the truth in the ears of a persecuted but "believing nation. Hearken ye then unto these things "from me, and take heed that ye keep yourselves from "fornication in respect of the faith, and from intercourse "with people who are polluted therewith; for the time "of these things shall be short, and there shall be "redemption for the people of God, and the righteous "man shall live by faith."

Such were the things which were spoken by the blessed man, and it is not a great matter that such things were uttered and seen by the man who was crucified unto the world, and to whom the world was crucified. For our Lord made the promise unto believers, saying, "If ye have in you faith like a grain "of mustard seed ye shall say unto this mountain, "'Depart'; and it shall depart, and there is nothing "which shall be too hard for you;"¹ and again He said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask of My Father in My Name "shall be given unto you." And He commanded His

¹ St. Matthew XVII. 20.

disciples, saying, "Go ye forth, and preach, and heal "the sick, and cast out devils; freely ye have received," "freely give." Now the blessed man did not perform healings by his own power after the manner of a master, but only with prayer and with the mention of the Name of Christ, so that it might be manifest unto every man that it was not he who was the doer of these things, but that God wrought them by his hands. Thus the old man was triumphant in all such matters, for his strength was renewed from day to day even as is the youth of the eagle, by the fervour of his mind, and he had pleasure in the constant works which our Lord Jesus wrought for him.

Now he was afflicted and suffered much by reason of the people who were continually coming to him, and he enjoyed no respite from them, and he was therefore compelled to withdraw to the outer mountain; and moreover, the judges and the governors of the country entreated him to come back to a place of habitation because it was difficult for them to come near him on account of the numerous people who clung to him, and because of the fatigue of the journey which [they had to endure] in going to him. And this matter was exceedingly hard to the blessed man, and he excused himself [Page 83] from such like things. Now when the judges and the governors saw that he refused to do what they wanted, they dealt craftily with him in this matter, for they sent to him the Greeks and the other people who had been arrested for evil dealing and wickednesses of various kinds, and they entreated and besought him with much supplication to come back to the habitations of men so that he might work deliverance from prison for them; and by such means and excuses the judges were able to see him continually, and the toil which he suffered on such journeys was not in vain, for his coming was beneficial

¹ St. Matthew x. 8.

to everyone. Now the judges heard from him that which helped them to rule [righteously], and they learned to know they themselves were men, and were even as those who were subject unto them, and that they must not behave towards them angrily, but judge them righteously, for, "With what judgment ye judge [ye shall be judged]"¹. But although the blessed man rejoiced in the works of the fear of God which he wrought, he was more pleased with his habitation in the desert than with any other thing. And after he had been led by force by those men who had made supplication unto him, and had entreated him to come to the outer mountain, so soon as he had performed for them his kind offices and had spoken unto the governor words which were suitable to his majesty and dominion, he would hasten back to his place. And when the governor did homage to him, and begged him to remain with him for a day or two, the old man entreated him courteously [to be allowed to depart], saying, "This thing is impossible, for as fish die if a man lift them out of the water, so, if we monks prolong our stay with men, do our minds become perverted and troubled; therefore it is meet that as fish [pass] their lives beneath the waters we also should let our lives and works be buried in the wilderness." Now when the governor heard these and other things like unto them [Page 84], he marvelled and said, "Verily [this is] a true servant of God. He speaketh not that which cometh from himself, but that which is given unto him from heaven. How could this simple man possess such rich knowledge unless he was beloved by God?"

Now a certain duke whose name was Bâlaḡ² persecuted the Church sorely at the instigation of the

¹ St. Matthew VII. 2.

² Praeterea cum Balacius, qui sub Nestorio prefecto Alexandriae dux Aegypti fuit; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 58, col. 1.

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Arians, and his wickedness increased to such an extent that he would beat the nuns, and strip the monks naked and flog them. And when the blessed old man heard of the wickedness of this man, he wrote a letter and sent it to him, and in it was thus written, "Behold, "I see that wrath is coming upon thee; desist therefore, "and accept rebuke, and persecute not the believers, "that peradventure the angel of wrath may be restrained, "for behold, he hath set out to come." When Bálak received the letter, he looked thereat and laughed, and he spat thereon and took it up and threw it away; and in his hatred he cursed the bringer of the letter, and said unto him, "Get thee back and tell these things "unto him that sent thee." And he said unto him, "Inasmuch as thou hast exceedingly great regard for "the churches and for those who are persecuted, behold "I will speedily execute judgment upon thee also;" but after these words he went no further than five days before wrath overtook him. For he set out to journey to the first stopping place [on the road from] Alexandria which is called Khrôaôs,¹ and as the duke Bálak and Nestor, the prefect of Alexandria, were riding together—now they were riding two of Bálak's horses which were the gentlest of all his horses—before they arrived at the place [of destination], the horses began to play together according to their wont, and suddenly the gentler of the two horses, that is to say the animal whereon Nestor the prefect rode, seized the thigh of Bálak with his mouth and dragged him from his horse and fell upon him and rent him like a dog. And they took Bálak and brought him in to Alexandria, [Page 85] and after three days he died; and thus the word of the blessed man actually came to pass, and wonder laid hold upon every man.

And these were the things which he was wont to

¹ Ad primam mansionem Alexandriae, quae appellatur Chaereum. Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 58, col. 1.

say to the judges of [this] world, and he would give them counsel in a loving manner, that they should not be puffed up in their minds, and that they should not magnify themselves over the people, for there was no governor at that time who would not gladly hearken unto him, and they repented of their [evil] deeds, and ascribed blessing unto those who despised the world and became aliens thereto. And moreover, he had such great care for those who were treated unjustly, and were plundered of their possessions, that he himself would bear all their [troubles]; and his words were so grateful and pleasant unto all those who drew nigh unto him that many of the dwellers in villages and in towns, and pagans (*or*, rustics) and men who served in the army would forsake their riches and their occupations and would go and enrol themselves in the order of the monks. Now he was unto Egypt like a good physician who had been given unto the people thereof from God. For who ever came unto him being afflicted that did not go away rejoicing? Or who ever came unto him in sorrow because of the sufferings which had come upon him that did not come back wholly encouraged? And who ever came unto him full of rage and wrath that was not enriched with graciousness and longsuffering? And what poor man ever came unto him broken by poverty who did not [afterwards] by reason of his words and the sight of him despise all riches? And what monk ever came to him sorrowful in mind who did not depart full of strength like a mighty man of war? And what young man ever came unto him with lusts burning in him, and saw that the old man had conquered in the strife, who did not go away with his lusts quenched and dead within him? And what youth who was afraid of the war which had come upon him ever came unto him, and seeing his triumphant old age did not [henceforward] contend [Page 86] in the forefront of the battle? And what man ever came unto him troubled

in mind who did not go away with it composed and in a state of reason?

And there was found in him the gracious gift of being able to distinguish and understand the wiliness of the devils, and the various ways whereby each one of them caused injury [to man]; and he comprehended not only those things which were wrought by the Evil One, but also the various causes whereby men were troubled and perturbed, and he could inform them concerning the craft and cunning of the deceitful one. And every man hearkened unto these things and learned them, and he went away bearing armour and a shield against the profound wiles of the Evil One. And moreover, how many were the virgins who saw the blessed man afar off and left the men to whom they were betrothed, and betrothed themselves to Christ! And many people used to come to him from outside Egypt, and unto all the questions he would return suitable answers; and he was so great, and was so much beloved by every man, that after he had departed from this world, and had left all men orphans, the memory of him never died among the people, and every man gave himself courage by the repetition of his triumphs and of his words.

CONCERNING HIS DEATH. It is meet that we should call to remembrance his death, and should relate how it took place, and in what manner he finished his life, for I know that ye will be exceedingly pleased therewith; now he was accustomed to go out and visit the memorial stones of the brethren in the outer mountain. Now the matter of his death also was not hidden from him, and he went forth [to visit them] even when he knew that his departure was nigh. And after he had spoken to the brethren according to his wont, he said unto them, "This act which ye have just performed is the end of all acts; and I marvel at this world. Let each look [for himself] alone; for it is the time for me to die." Now he was then about one hundred and five years old.

And when the brethren heard [these things] they wept bitter tears, and each of them began to embrace and to kiss him [Page 87], and the old man, like unto a man from a strange country who is about to depart thereto, with great gladness besought them to be quiet, and exhorted them, saying, "Be not ye in despair by reason of your tribulations, and be not lax in your lives and works, but even as men who are dying daily prepare ye for life, and as I have already said, be watchful ever. Keep ye your souls from thoughts of iniquity, and strive ye for good gifts, and guard ye yourselves against associating yourselves with the Meletinians, who are heretics, for ye know the cause of their schisms, and how cunning and bitter they are. And flee ye with all your might also from the doctrine of the Arians, for their wickedness is clearly manifest, and take good heed to avoid them, and be not like unto them for ever, neither if they be mighty in their help, nor if they be many in bearing burdens, for however often error raiseth up her nest(?) it shall never be able to contend against the truth. Be ye therefore free from all intercourse with them, and thus shall ye be able to take good heed to the true doctrine of our fathers, and to the preaching of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, which ye have received from the Scriptures."

Now when the brethren heard concerning the matter of his departure, they entreated him that he would remain with them in order that his course might be ended there, but he would not accede to their request for many reasons which he had made known in his silence, but for the following reason especially. The Egyptians were in the habit of taking the dead bodies of righteous men, and especially those of the blessed martyrs, and of embalming them and placing them not in graves, but on biers in their houses, for they thought that by so doing they were doing them honour. And the blessed old man had on very many occasions be-

sought the Bishops to preach to the people and to command [Page 88] them to cease from this habit. And he himself used to entreat and exhort the multitudes who came to him, saying, "This work is neither seemly nor right. Moreover, the burial places of the early Fathers, and of the Prophets, and of the Apostles are known unto this day, and even the grave of our Lord Who rose on the third day." And by these words he shewed forth that it was a transgression of a command for a man not to hide [in the ground] the bodies of those who were dead, even though they were righteous men. Therefore many hearkened and were persuaded not to do so, and they laid their dead in the ground, and buried them therein, and they thanked God because they had accepted [his] entreaty, which was seemly. And it was through fear of this thing that he would not grant the entreaty of the brethren and remain with them, but departed to his own place.

And after a few months he became sick, and he cried out to the brethren who were with him (now these were only two in number, and they had been with him from the time when his old age [began], which was nearly fifteen years before, and they had ministered unto him with the greatest care), and said unto them, even as it is written, "Behold, I go the way of my fathers, for I have felt within myself for some days [past] that I have been called by my Lord. Observe ye now how carefully ye can maintain this contest, and take good heed that ye lose not the long suffering which ye have acquired, and that, like men who are just beginning [the strife], ye increase it more and more and add to it day by day. Ye are well acquainted with the baneful devils and their craftiness, and ye know well this fact that if ye please they shall be accounted as nothing by you. Be ye therefore not terrified by them, but always take refuge in Christ. And remember ye everything which ye

“have heard from me during all this time [which ye
“have been with me], that ye have no intercourse
“whatsoever with the Arians, the heretics, for ye know
“how filthy they are in my sight because of their
“blasphemy [Page 89] of our Lord Jesus Christ. Take
“ye also heed then diligently at all times that ye cleave
“to the Spirit of Christ and agree therewith, and be
“ye, moreover, friends and associates of just men that
“they may receive you into their everlasting habitations
“as friends and men of whom they have good know-
“ledge. Therefore meditate ye upon these things and
“keep them in your minds. And if your minds are
“[set] upon me, and ye remember me as a father, per-
“mit no man to take my body and carry it into Egypt,
“lest, according to the custom which they have, they
“embalm me and lay me up in their houses, for it was
“[to avoid] this that I came into this desert. And ye
“know that I have continually made exhortation con-
“cerning this thing and begged that it should not be
“done, and ye well know how much I have blamed
“those who observed this custom. Dig a grave then,
“and bury me therein, and hide my body under the
“earth, and let these my words be observed carefully
“by you, and tell ye no man where ye lay me; [and
“there I shall be] until the Resurrection of the dead,
“when I shall receive [again] this body without cor-
“ruption.

“And divide ye my garments [into lots], and give
“one leather tunic to Bishop Athanasius, and the cover-
“ing of this my bed which he gave unto me when it
“was new; but now it hath become old. And to Bishop
“Serapion do ye give the other leather coat, and this
“covering of my bed which is made of hair ye your-
“selves shall keep; now therefore, my children, abide in
“peace, for, behold, Anthony bringeth his journey to an
“end, and he goeth whither Divine Grace shall bring
“him.”

And when he had spoken these words, he straight-

way stretched out his legs, whereupon the brethren began to cry out [to him], and to kiss him; now his face was full of joy unspeakable at the meeting of those who had come for him, and it resembled that of a man when he seeth a friend whom it rejoiceth him to meet. So the blessed man held his peace and died, and was gathered to his fathers. [Page 90] Then the brethren, according to the command which they had received from him, wrapped him round in the garment which he wore, and they carried him out, and dug a hole in the ground and buried his body in the earth, and no man knoweth where they buried him except those two brethren who laid him in the earth. Now whosoever received any one of the clothes of the blessed Anthony regarded it as a most valuable possession, for whensoever a man looked thereat he imagined that he was looking at the blessed man¹ in it, and whensoever any man put on one of his garments he felt as if he were arrayed in the commandments and promises of the blessed Anthony.

Here end the history of the life of the blessed old man in the body, and the previous narrative thereto which [dealt with] the beginning of his deeds and labours; and if these appear to be too small in comparison to [the number of] the triumphs of the blessed man, still from these ye will be able to imagine how great was this man of God, who, from his earliest youth to his old age, never desisted from his career in the fear of God. Old age did not reduce his vigour and compel him to gratify the body, and he was not urged by the sickness of his body even to touch water with his feet; and whilst he was thus keeping his body in restraint God preserved him unharmed. For, in spite of his great old age his eye waxed not dim, and not one of his teeth dropped out, and both his feet and his hands were in a sound and healthy state; and not-

¹ Read **جسد**.

withstanding that he kept his body low [in respect of food], his appearance was more glorious than that of all those who fed themselves luxuriously on dainty meats, and who wore fine clothes, and who made use of baths. And moreover he possessed strength which was out of all proportion to his aged body.

Now inasmuch as the fame of the blessed Anthony hath gone into every place, and every man holdeth him in wonder, [Page 91] and worshippeth him, it is a sure and certain sign of the truth of his acts and deeds and of his perfect love towards God. For he did not become known unto all the world by means of [his] discourse, or by the wisdom of words, or by means of crafty plans and schemes, but by radiant righteousness towards God, for it was God Who performed this work, and he who hath a doubtful mind about this shall be held in contempt. Otherwise how is it possible that a man who lived in seclusion and who dwelt alone in the desert should become known and proclaimed abroad in Spain,¹ and in Âlaniâ, and in Rome, and in Africa and other countries unless God, Whom Anthony confessed from the earliest times, had revealed him [to them]? For although these men of God live in secret places and do not desire to be seen and known, yet our Lord [maketh them] to shine like lamps upon all men. Thus also let those who hear [me], and who are mighty men before God, and who love His commandments, be persuaded to keep [their] steps, not that they may be praised but that they may be justified. Let all the brethren then who are monks read these things so that they may know how it is meet for them to live their lives, and let this little book be unto every man like the testament of a righteous father who had divided his

¹ Africae, Hispaniae, Galliae, Italiae, Illyrico, ipsi etiam, quae urbium caput est, Romae, ut in exordio promiserat, demonstravit. Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 60, col. 2.

riches and possessions among his beloved sons in our Lord; for when we gather together and reveal unto the believers those means whereby he gained possession of and collected all this wealth, we deliver up riches and give them unto prosperous and beloved sons, even as doth the man who gathereth up wealth [for his family].

Let every man know then and have confidence that our Lord Jesus Christ our Redeemer honoureth those who honour Him, and who serve Him unto the end, and that He doth not only invite them to the kingdom of heaven [Page 92] and lead them into it, but in this world also, even though they live in seclusion and hide themselves, He revealeth them, and proclaimeth abroad [their names] for their own glory, and for the benefit of our humanity. And if it be seemly, do not excuse yourselves from reading these things even in the sight of (*or*, before) the heathen, for peradventure even by hearing the same they may become convinced that our Lord Jesus Christ is not only God and the Son of God, but also that for those who serve Him in purity of heart, and who believe in Him in truth, those devils who are imagined to be gods take to flight at the name of Christ. Now that they are not gods the matter itself maketh known, for behold, they are held in contempt, and they are trodden down like the furrows of a field, and they are expelled as thieves and destroyers by the believers everywhere.

HERE ENDETH, BY THE HELP OF OUR LORD, THE HISTORY OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE BLESSED ANTHONY, THE ATHLETE, AND PERFECT MAN, WHO TRIUMPHED IN THE CONTEST AND RECEIVED THE CROWN OF VICTORY. BY HIS PROSPEROUS TRAFFICKING HE MADE DOUBLE HIS MERCHANDIZE THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO HELPED HIM AND MADE HIM TO TRIUMPH, THE LORD [OF RIGHTEOUS MEN], AND THE CONQUEROR.

THE "PARADISE"
OR
THE BOOK OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE
HOLY FATHERS
BY
PALLADIUS, BISHOP OF HELENOPOLIS.
THE FIRST HISTORY.

THE "PARADISE" OF PALLADIUS.

[Page 93] AND AGAIN WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE BOOK OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE HOLY FATHERS WHO WERE MONKS, WHICH IS CALLED "PARADISE".

THE FIRST HISTORY.

THE EPISTLE OF PALLADIUS,¹ THE BISHOP OF THE CITY OF HELENOPOLIS,² WHICH HE MADE (*or*, WROTE) TO LAUSUS³ THE PREFECT⁴ WHO ASKED HIM TO WRITE FOR HIM AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND DEEDS OF THE FATHERS WHO WERE MONKS; AND HE WROTE THUS:—

PALLADIUS the Bishop to LAUSUS the prefect: greeting (*or*, peace).

¹ The account of Palladius as given by Dom Cuthbert Butler in his excellent work "The Lausiack History of Palladius", Cambridge, 1898, is as follows:—Palladius was born in Galatia in the year 367. In 387 he became a monk, and seems to have spent some time in Cappadocia and Palestine before going to Egypt. In 388 he went to Alexandria, and in 390 he withdrew to the desert of Nitria. In 390-1 he entered "the Cells", and lived there for about nine years, first with Macarius of Alexandria, and next with Evagrius. In the year 400, on account of sickness, he left the desert and went to Alexandria; in the same year he became Bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia. In 404 or 405 he went to Rome on behalf of Chrysostom; later he was banished to Syene (Aswân), and again to the Thebaid, where he lived for three or four years among the monks of Antinoopolis. He also lived for a time with some monks who dwelt on the Mount of Olives. In 420 he wrote his *Historia Lausiaca*, and dedicated it to Lausus, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II. Palladius composed

I ascribe blessing to thy beautiful desire, for we may begin [this] epistle with blessing, because whilst many men are devoted unto vain things,¹ and build buildings of stone wherein there is no profit, thou hast shewn thyself strenuous to learn concerning the building of the words of the narratives of holy men. For there is One alone Who hath no deed of doctrine (*or*, learning) that is to say, God Who is over everything, for He existeth of Himself, and there is no other being who existed before Him. Now all rational beings are learners, because they are beings who have been made and created.² The ranks of the celestial hosts who existed first of all, and the orders of beings who are the most exalted of all possess teachers in the Trinity, Who is exalted above everything. The orders of beings of the second group learn from the beings of the first group, and those which belong to the third group learn from those of the second group, which is above them, and in this manner each of the later groups learneth from that which is above it, even down to the lowest group of all; for those [Page 94] among them who are superior in respect of knowledge and excellence teach knowledge unto those who are inferior to them. Therefore those who imagine that they have no need of teachers, and who will not be convinced by those who teach them things of good, are sick with the want of the knowledge which is the

his work in the twentieth year of his episcopate, and in the fifty-third year of his age.

² Helenopolis in Bithynia.

³ Probably the "Lausus praepositus" who received the lady Melania when she visited Constantinople; see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. XI. pp. 508, 526, 527, and tom. XII. pp. 250, 540. Lausus was an imperial chamberlain at Constantinople under Theodosius II.

⁴ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ = $\pi\rho\alpha\iota\pi\acute{o}\sigma\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, praepositus.

¹ The better reading is $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$.

² The better reading is $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$.

For polished words and sentences, or words strung together in admirable order, are not doctrine, [for these things are for the most part found with evil-doers and sinners; but this is doctrine],² the correction of the natural habits and disposition, and the leading of a life of spiritual excellence according to rule, by which I mean the possession of the faculty which shall make a man superior to affliction and to emotion, and to timidity, and to wrath; and which shall make him to possess freedom of speech before every man; and which shall, through the fervour of Divine Love, produce works that shall be like unto coals of fire. For if doctrine be not this, the Great Teacher would not have said unto His disciples, "Learn of Me, for I am meek "and lowly in heart,"³ for He did not instruct (*or*, order) His Apostles merely in the beauty of speech, without at the same time making manifest a proof (*or*, work) in His own Person. And He caused grief unto no man except those who spurned⁴ doctrine, and those who hated their teachers. It is meet that the soul which leadeth its life in God should either learn in faith that which it knoweth not, or should learn wisely that of which it hath knowledge; but if it will do neither of these things, it is, if it be possible, sick through madness.

4 Read **الْحَيَّوْ**.

The beginning of instruction (*or*, discipline) is the fulness which is of doctrine, and density of speech is a helper of the fear of God, and for these things the soul of him that loveth God hungereth continually. Be strong then, and play the man. [Page 95] Farewell. And may God grant thee the gift of pursuing at all times the knowledge of Christ.

CONCERNING THE PLAN OF THE BOOK [OF PARADISE].

In this Book are written the excellent deeds and the marvellous lives of the holy and blessed Fathers, who took upon themselves the yoke of the solitary life, and who made themselves to be remote from the world, and who lived in the desert, and who wished to live wholly the heavenly life, and to travel on the road which leadeth unto the kingdom of heaven. Let us emulate their example and endeavour to do with all our might what they did! And together with these we commemorate also the marvellous women who led their lives in the Divine Spirit, and who waxed exceedingly old, and who with a brave mind brought to an end¹ the strife of the labours of spiritual excellence, according to the Divine manifestation and love, for they wished² to lay hold upon their souls, and to bind [upon their heads] the crown of holiness and impassibility.

And as for myself, (because of the sweet manners of the man by whom I have been commanded [to write], whose mind is full of doctrine (*or*, learning), whose habits are those of a lover of peace, who feareth God in his heart, who loveth Christ in his mind, who in the things which are needful is an associate, and who, because of all these qualities, hath been chosen from among many, and hath been honoured with the

¹ The better reading is **بغداد**.

² Read **جنتهم**.

highest rank of all), being protected by the might of the Holy Spirit—especially if it be right to speak the truth—I would rouse up our heavy minds to the contemplation of the things which are spiritually excellent, so that we may strive to imitate the most excellent lives and deeds of the pious men, and of the immortal and spiritual fathers, whose lives in the flesh were passed in laborious and stern service and in pleasing God. Of the virtues of such athletes of the fear of God it is my desire to set down some account in writing and to send it to thee, and I would make clear in my discourse 'the manifest spiritual excellencies of each one of [Page 96] these great men. And he who loveth a divine and spiritual desire like unto this is thyself, Lûsiôs (Lausus), who art triumphant among men, and who, in accordance with the Divine nod, hast been established as the guardian of this kingdom which loveth Christ.

But inasmuch as I have not been trained in language (*or*, speech), and as I possess spiritual knowledge only in the very smallest degree,¹ and am unequal to the task [of describing] the company of the holy Fathers and [their] spiritual lives and works, I am afraid of the greatness of [thy] command which surpasseth my capacity. I have, therefore, up to this present, been urging myself to escape(?)² from this work, because I am in great need both of the wisdom which is [essential] externally and of spiritual understanding. But being put to shame first of all by the strenuousness of the excellence of him that hath stirred me up to [do] this work, and considering also the benefit which shall accrue to those who shall come across these histories, and being, moreover, afraid of the danger of the penalty of disobedience, which is right, I will first of all commit the weight of the matter unto

¹ The readings are *دليل* and *دليل*, but neither is very good.

² *دليل* or *دليل*.

the Providence of God, and I will, with all diligence, make use of the prayers of the holy Fathers, so that I may be able to mount up as upon wings to the place where their contests were waged, and may tell the story briefly of those athletes, who though young became great and divine men who did valiantly and who triumphed in the works and deeds of spiritual excellence. And I will also relate the histories of those blessed women who were adorned with the fair garb [of the monastic life], and who attained to pre-eminence in divine labours. Now some of these divine persons of whom I am about to tell the story I was held to be worthy to see face to face; and concerning the heavenly lives of the others who died in the contest of the fear of God I have learned from the athletes of Christ, who were arrayed in God.

Therefore, through very many cities, and villages, and in caves and holes in the earth, [Page 97] and in the tabernacles which the monks had in the desert for a distance as far as a man could walk have I gone round about for the sake of the labour of the fear of God, and I have set down in writing with exactness the things which I have seen.¹ And I have also made known unto thee in this book the things which I have heard from the holy Fathers concerning the triumphs of great men, and concerning the women who for the sake of the hope which is in Christ performed mighty works which were above nature, and I have sent it to thy hearing which loveth divine words. O thou Lausus who art triumphant among men, and who art fair among the friends of God, and who art the ornament of this believing and God-fearing kingdom, and art the true friend and servant of God, I have written down for thee as far as my feebleness is able, the [history of] the strife of each of the athletes of Christ, both male and female, a name which is honourable

¹ We must read, *ἡμεῖς ἀποφύλαξεν*.

and which meriteth praise. And I have narrated unto thee only very few of the very many exceedingly great triumphs which belong to each one of these athletes, and of many of them I have added [the names of] their families, and cities, and also the places where they lived.

And we have also commemorated the men and women who, indeed, attained to the highest excellence in the labours of the spiritual life, and who, because of the pride (*or*, arrogance), which is the mother of that [quality] which is called vain glory, were brought down to the lowest depths of Sheol, and so wasted the great work in the spiritual qualities which they had only acquired after a very long time, and the triumphs in the ascetic virtues which they had won, through [their] pride and boasting in one brief moment, in the twinkling of an eye. Nevertheless, by the Divine Grace of our Redeemer, and by the carefulness of the holy Fathers, and by the cherishing influence of the mercy of the Spirit, they were plucked [finally] out of the net of the Calumniator.

COUNSELS TO LAUSUS.

Let the following be before thy mind in all [thine] acts, and thou shalt sin in no particular [Page 98]:—

- I. To do good to the fool and to bury the dead; both are alike.
- II. It is meet that a man should put on armour over the breast, and the word of our Redeemer Christ [over] grief; armour and shield will hide the breast, but [only] faith and action [can hide] the soul.
- III. As it is possible to see the skill of the painter on a small tablet, so a small gift [sheweth] the greatness of the disposition of the soul.
- IV. Have no confidence in the belief that that which is placed outside thy soul is thy possession.

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- V. Clothes and raiment drape¹ statues, but habits and manners drape¹ men.
- VI. An evil word is the beginning of evil deeds.
- VII. Speak thou according to what is right, and where it is right, and concerning the things which are right, and hearken not unto that which is not right.
- VIII. It is better to shake a stone vainly than [to utter a vain] word, and it is better to be under subjection to the Barbarians than to evil passions.
- IX. The excellence of a horse is made apparent in battle, and the disposition of a friend is put to the test in tribulation.
- X. It is impossible to divide the sea, and it is also impossible to still the waves thereof, although for them it is always easy.
- XI. The wise and God-fearing man is he who hateth that which is not right.
- XII. The gentle and gracious man is he who treadeth pride under foot; but he who is set upon that which is the contrary of this is one who is governed by arrogance [Page 99].
- XIII. Constant prayer is the strength, and the armour, and the wall of the soul.
- XIV. Wine maketh warm the body, and the word of God [warmeth] the soul.
- XV. Know thou that not even much time will bring oblivion upon one act which thou wouldst hide.
- XVI. The believing mind is a temple² of God which it is meet for a man to adorn daily and to burn incense therein, inasmuch as it is God Who dwelleth therein.

And numbers upon numbers of books at divers

¹ Or, "adorn."

² The MS has $\Delta\delta\sigma\tau$, but read $\Delta\delta\sigma\tau$.

times and in various ways have they left unto the habitations of men, and some of them are according to the Mind which is above and Divine Grace, and were [written] for the edification and protection of those who wished to [follow] carefully after the faith and the doctrine of our Redeemer, and some of them are according to the adulation of the children of men, and the corrupt mind which is mad after the lusts¹ of the body, [and some of them] are for the consolation of those who destroy vain glory; but others are from some vain madness and the agency (*or*, operation) of that evil Devil who hateth the things which are good, and [their writers] made use of arrogance and hatred, and in order to corrupt the children of men whose minds have been laid waste and who have no understanding they introduced [them] that they might defile the purity of the holy Catholic Church, and hinder its pure life and deeds of ascetic excellence.

And moreover, it hath seemed to me—I who fall short of the hope which is in Christ, and who am shamefaced before the command of thy greatmindedness—O thou man who lovest doctrine, that I ought first of all to narrate to thee the story of how I was reared,² and concerning the gradual growth of my mind of such excellence³ as I possess towards God. I lived a life of rule and was in a monastery of solitary brethren for the first part of my life, that is to say until the thirty-third year of my age, and I served the office of Bishop for twenty years; [Page 100], thus the whole period of my life hath included fifty-six⁴ years.

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary, inasmuch as it hath seemed to me that thou art very anxious to

¹ Add 𐌲𐌹𐌸𐌰.

² Read 𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌹.

³ Read 𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌹.

⁴ There is some mistake in the numbers here given, for $33 + 20 = 53$; we should read 𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌹.

hear the triumphs of the holy Fathers, because of the divine and spiritual profit [which is therein], that I should tell you in writing [concerning] the men and the women, of whom some I have myself seen, and concerning others of whom I have heard from believing men, and concerning others whom I have met with when I was travelling about in the land of Egypt, and in Libya, and in the Thebaïd, and also in the region of Syene, and among those who are called men of Tabenna, and afterwards in Mesopotamia, and in Palestine, and in Syria, and among these in the countries of the West, and among the Romans, and among the people of the Campagna. And I must also set down in writing with careful exactitude the history of everything which appertaineth closely to these men from the very beginning and set before thee as an example that which will be a most excellent memorial and a benefit of the soul, that is to say, a sure and certain binding up, so that by means of it thou mayest be able to dispel from thy soul all the slumber¹ of error, which cometh into being through irrational desire, and all the doubts of the soul in respect of faith, and sluggishness in respect of the things which are useful, and all loathing and littleness of soul concerning habits of virtue, that is to say, keenness of wrath, and perturbation, and animal ferocity, and empty fear.

Then shalt thou flee from the vain and corrupt delight of this world, and through [thy] constant eager desire thou shalt draw nigh to the hope which is in God; and thou shalt govern thyself in the desire of the fear of God, and those who are with thee, and those who are under thine authority, and moreover, unto him that feareth God thou wilt become king. For through these triumphs all those who have become friends of Christ shall hasten to be united unto Him, and they shall also look for the loosing of the

¹ The text has *ἡσυχία*, but Bedjan's reading *ἡσυχία* is better.

soul from the body, for it is well known that daily [they will do this], even as it is written, "I am constrained by the good desire which I possess [to wish] "to become free and to be with Christ."¹ [Page 101] And exceedingly excellent is all that which is said, "Make ready thy works for [thy] going forth, and "prepare thy field."² For he who remembereth death continually, [and keepeth in his mind the knowledge] that he must most certainly die, will neither be negligent of nor commit sin in respect of great matters, even according to what is said, "In all thy words "remember thine end, and thou wilt never commit "sin."³ And besides all these things I will add this also so that thou mayest not belittle the tradition of this our faulty history, and mayest not hold in contempt the simplicity and want of polish of the language [thereof]; for this matter appertaineth not to the Divine doctrine (*or*, teaching), that we should compose speech with wise skill, but we should strengthen the mind with sure and certain words of understanding, according to that which is said, "Open thy mouth with the "word of truth, and judge every man in a sound "manner;"⁴ and moreover, thou shalt not forget the "narratives of the old men, because they also have "received them from their fathers."⁵

I therefore, O thou lover of doctrine, thou godly man, have lighted upon many things with the holy men, not through making use of ordinary thought, but by making journeys [among them] which have lasted thirty days, yea, even thirty days twice told. And [I say it], as before God, that in travels and journeyings I would have trodden the whole of the territory of the

¹ Philippians I. 23.

² Proverbs XXIV. 27.

³ Ecclesiasticus VII. 31.

⁴ Proverbs XXXI. 9.

⁵ Ecclesiasticus VIII. 9.

Greeks so that I might have the opportunity of conversing with each of the lovers of God, and I would have undertaken the labour of a journey such as this gratefully so that I might be able to traffic for a profit (*or*, benefit) which I did not possess. For if that man who was far more excellent than I am, and perhaps far more excellent than the whole world, and who in his life and works, and in his knowledge, and in his wise opinions of the Spirit, and in his faith which was in Christ, surpassed many, I mean the blessed man Paul, who in order that he might see James, and Kipâ (Peter), and John made a journey from Tarsus [Page 102] to Judaea, and it is well known that he related the fact of this journey somewhat as a boast when he was declaring abroad and revealing his labours in order that he might stimulate those who were living lives sluggish and indolent in respect of spiritual excellence, and when he said, "I went up to Jerusalem¹ that I might "see Kipâ (Peter)", not that he was denying the spiritual excellence of Peter of which he had received [information] by report, but because he was longing for converse with him also. [Now, if this Paul had need of converse with Peter], how much more did I, who am a debtor of ten thousand talents, need to do this (*i. e.*, to visit the holy men) for the sake of the benefit, not for the sake of any good which I could do to them but for the sake of the advantage which I, the sinful man, should myself gain? And moreover, the things which writers have written down about the holy Fathers, I mean Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and Elijah, and the other saints, were not composed and narrated to glorify them, but that those who should peruse them might profit thereby.

Therefore, O chaste and believing man, Lausus, thou servant of God, knowing these things, and having also instructed thyself in many others, be convinced

¹ Galatians I. 18.

by our discourse also, and let the matters thereof be laid up in thy God-fearing mind as in a secure storehouse which is not wont to be disturbed by evil things of divers kinds, either visible or invisible, and which only constant prayer and the converse which concerneth the service of the soul can make to be moved.

For many of these brethren who in the fear of God won spiritual excellence, and who waxed great in ascetic labours and lovingkindness, and who were famed (*or*, boasted) because of their perfect chastity and virginity, and who protracted to great length their meditations upon the Holy Scriptures, and placed their trust upon [their] strenuousness in spiritual doctrine, were never held to be worthy of the state of impassibility, because they served with a mind which possessed not discretion and employed only the form of the fear of God, and because they were diseased with the love of external converse, wherefrom are produced [Page 103] all vices which enter [into a man] from without, and which eradicate that which is the mother of the service which taketh place in the soul.

Be strong, therefore, in all wisdom, and rear not thy soul in the riches which thou hast made (*or*, gotten), having made them sufficiently little by means of the gifts to those who are needy, so that the ministration which ariseth therefrom may perfect the service of excellence, for [this] cometh into being neither through any urging whatsoever, nor through the foolish thoughts of any form whatsoever for the sake of vain glory. And do not bind thyself to [do] anything under a penalty [secured] by oaths as many men do, as for example those who for the sake of vain glory strive eagerly neither to eat nor to drink, for though by the force of [such] oaths they may bring their feeble will into subjection, through this same thing they fall miserably, either by means of pleasures and the loathing [which followeth thereafter], or through the sickness of the body, or else through the delightful gratification of some

lust they bring forth falsehood. And as thou¹ receivest [what is good] according to reason, so according to reason shalt thou make thyself to be remote [from what is evil], and thou shalt never sin at all; for by the word of God shall all motions of fear be extinguished, and thou shalt draw nigh unto the things which bring [thee] profit, and shalt trample down those which would cause [thee] loss. For for the righteous the Law was not laid down.

It is better to drink wine in moderation than to drink water immoderately, and it appeareth to me that those who drink wine in moderation are holy men, and that those who pridefully use water in an immoderate fashion are depraved and pleasure-loving. Do not therefore ascribe blame or praise to the eating [or not eating] of food, or to the drinking [or not drinking] of wine, but ascribe praise, or woe, unto those who make use properly or improperly of meat and drink. Joseph in olden time drank wine with the Egyptians and was in no way injured in his mind thereby, for he took good heed unto [the admonitions of] his understanding; but Pythagoras, [Page 104] and Diogenes,² and Plato, and with them also the Manichaeans, and other sects of philosophers [did not], and they came thereby to such a pitch of licentiousness and vain glory that they even forgot the God of the universe and worshipped soulless images. On the other hand, the blessed Apostle Peter and those who were with him drew nigh to wine and made use thereof, and because of this the Jews reproached our Lord, the Redeemer of all [men] and their Teacher, and made complaints against Him, saying, "Why do not Thy disciples fast 'like John?'"³ And again they lifted themselves up(?) against the disciples and blamed them, saying, "Why 'doth your master eat and drink with tax-gatherers

¹ Read **سأ**.

² The text has **ذو الفيل**, but read **جيفل**.

³ St. Matthew IX. 14; Mark II. 18.

“and sinners?”¹ Now they did not make their complaints about bread and water only, but also about wine and delicate viands, for it is evident that they only wanted to lay blame upon the disciples in everything. Thereupon our Redeemer made answer, and said, “John came in the path of righteousness, neither eating nor drinking”,—now it is well known that flesh and wine [are here referred to], for it was impossible for him to live without food of other kinds—“and ye say that he hath a devil in him; and the Son of Man hath come, eating and drinking, and [ye] say, ‘Behold a glutton and a winebibber, a friend of tax-gatherers and sinners!’” What then is it right for us to do, so that we may neither go after those who make complaints [of our acts], nor after those who praise them? For we must either fast with John according to discretion, even though the Jews said that there was a devil in him, and that he was certainly mad, or we must drink wine with Christ with knowledge, if the body shall have need thereof, even though the children of men shall say concerning us, “Behold a glutton and a winebibber.” For in very truth neither the eating of food nor the abstaining therefrom is anything, but the faith and love which are made perfect in works; for when a man followeth after faith wholly [Page 105] by actions, he who eateth and drinketh is blameless for faith’s sake, for everything which is not of faith is sin. But perhaps one of those who love the carnal lusts, or perhaps one of those who sin not, will say that if they eat in faith, or if they do² anything else by the irrational thought of the carnal appetite, or through a corrupt intent, those who support themselves on faith commit sin. Now our Redeemer made a distinction, saying, “By their fruit ye shall know them;”³

¹ St. Matthew IX. 11; X. 18, 19.

² Bedjan’s reading ⲉⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ is the better.

³ St. Matthew VII. 20.

and the fruits may be recognized by the word of God, and by spiritual wisdom, according to the word of the blessed Apostle, who said, "Love, peace, gladness, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, patient endurance;"¹—these are the fruits of the Spirit according to the word of the Apostle.

Whosoever then is eager to possess these fruits will never, without reason and without thought on any occasion, eat flesh, or drink wine, or dwell with a man with evil intent. Moreover, the blessed Paul saith, "Whosoever is about to strive in a contest preserveth his mind free from every other thought, and thus keepeth his body healthy, and maketh himself to be remote from the things which would make him fat."² But if he fall into sickness, or into severe sufferings, or he become a companion unto afflictions which fight against him externally, he must then make use of meat and drink by way of a binding up, and a healing medicine for the things which work tribulation for him. Let us then keep ourselves remote from the evil things which are wrought in the soul, I mean anger, and envy, and vain glory, and dejection, and evil discourse, and the suspicion which is not seemly, for whilst a man is giving thanks unto God he cannot commit sin.

Now therefore, having spoken sufficiently concerning these things, I have yet another entreaty to bring nigh unto the love of doctrine which is in thee, that is to say, I would that thou didst flee with [Page 106] all thy strength from the converse of men from whom thou canst gain no benefit, although their outside skin be ornamented with various patterns; even if they be orthodox they will cause thee to suffer loss, and if they be heretics that loss will be very much greater. And although they appear to be exceedingly aged, and their bodies be shrivelled and withered, and it may seem

¹ Galatians, v. 22. 23.

² Read **وَمُتَّقِنًا**. Compare 1 Corinthians IX. 25, 27.

to thee that thou canst not in any way be injured by them because of the beautiful dispositions which are in them, that which is in them, and which appeareth to thee to be a small matter, will do thee an injury; for thou shalt become lax in thy mind in respect of them, and whilst laughing at them thou wilt become unduly exalted, and that thou shouldst be driven to arrogance would be a loss for thee. Follow then after the mind of pious men and women¹ who shine with the light which entereth in through the windows, so that by means of these, like a book the lines of which are extremely close together, thou mayest be able clearly to see what is in thy heart by comparison with them, either of sluggishness or strenuousness. For there are very many things which testify concerning spiritual excellence, [such as] the colour of the face which blossometh with ascetic labours, and the manner in which the apparel is put on, and a peaceable manner, and a mode of speech which is not inflated, and modesty of the countenance, and a discourse which is not crooked, and cheerfulness of the mind, and an understanding which is full of knowledge; by these things both thine own fair beauty will be made strong, and also all those who follow after the goal of the fear of God, even though they be [living] in a state of negligence or in some other similar [vice]. For, according to the word of the wise man, the behaviour of a man, and the gait of his legs, and the laughter of his mouth testify concerning him.²

¹ Read *ἁγίων*.

² Ecclesiasticus XIX. 30.

HERE BEGIN THE HISTORIES [OF THE HOLY MEN].

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF ABBÂ ISIDORE.

By the help of our Lord I will, therefore, begin [to write] for thee, [O Lausus], the histories of the holy fathers, [Page 107] and I will omit nothing concerning them which I will not make known in [my] discourse, neither the histories of those who lived in cities, nor of those who lived in villages or in caves, nor of those who became famous in the desert. Nay, I will even add to my discourse the histories of those who lived among the general assembly of a community, for no special country or place wherein they lived and wherein they perfected the life of ascetic excellence needs to be sought out, for [everywhere] they led the pure life and conversation of chastity and integrity, and performed the deeds of the simple mind wherein, through the help of Christ, they wrought and fulfilled the lives and deeds of angels.

Now at first when I went to Alexandria in the second consulship of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, he who now because of the orthodoxy of his faith in Christ sojourneth with the angels, I met in the city a wonderful man who was adorned in every respect with the most beautiful qualities of speech, and knowledge, and life and conversation, whose name was ISIDORE. He was a priest and was the overseer of

the hospital,¹ of the church of Alexandria, and it was said of him that in his early youth he had lived in a monastery in the desert, and that he triumphed in the contest of the ascetic life: I saw, moreover, his cell in the mountain of Nitria. I met him when he was an old man seventy years of age, and when he had lived fifteen years longer he departed from this world. Now to the end of his life this holy man never put on either a linen tunic or even a head-covering; he never washed, and he never ate flesh, and he never ate a full meal seated comfortably at a table;² and yet, through Divine grace, his body shone. He possessed a sound and healthy body, and he was, by the grace of Christ, so fully endowed with strength that those who beheld him and who did not know him would not be persuaded [Page 108] that he lived a life of self-denial, and they thought and said that he must lead a life of great luxury and that he must eat abundantly of rich meats. Now, if I were to undertake to declare the marvellous character of his life and deeds, and wished to recount the excellence of his soul, and to make manifest every fact concerning them, all time would not suffice [for me to declare them], nor would paper [suffice for me to write them]. For this man was so lovingly merciful and so full of peace that, by reason of the orthodoxy of his faith in Christ, even his enemies who did not believe were put to shame by him, from his early youth up, and at his good deeds and the abundance of his graciousness were put to the blush; for he was gracious unto every man.

Now, he possessed the gift of the spirit and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the comprehension of divine learning, and he kept the commandments [so

¹ Read *ἡσυχαστήριον*. *I. e.*, he was the man to whose hands the faithful committed the money which they subscribed to support the sick poor of the congregation.

² *Or*, he never enjoyed a full meal.

strictly] that at noon, the time when the brethren were wont to take their food, the mind of this holy man was carried away as it were in a slumber, and the greater number of the brethren were marvelling at his example and knowledge, and many, many times they tried to persuade him to relate unto them the things which he saw, and entreated him to tell them concerning the marvellous state which had come upon him, but he could not be persuaded [to do so]. Finally he was constrained by the power of their love, and he answered and said unto them, "My mind departed and "was carried away by contemplation, and I was snatched "away by the similitude of a thought, and I was fed "with the food of glory, which, however, it is impossible "for me to describe."

Now I knew this man, and on several occasions he burst into tears at the table, and when I asked him, "What is the cause of these tears?" he said unto me, "I am ashamed of myself because, being a rational "being, I eat the food of an irrational creature; I desire "to live in Paradise [Page 109], where I should enjoy "the food which is imperishable. For [although] we "have received that power which is from Christ, yet "am I drawn to partake of the food which perisheth. "I would partake of the food which is spiritual, and I "would that I were in the Paradise of delights in the "dominion which God hath given unto me; and behold "I am eating the food of the beasts."

And unto this man were known all the members of the Roman Senate and the free-born women of the nobles [of Rome], because in former times he had gone with Bishop Athanasius to that city, and he had also been there with the holy man Bishop DEMETRIUS.¹ And Isidore having great riches, and wanting nothing, was

¹ Bishop of Pessinus in Galatia Secunda, and friend of St. Chrysostom, whose letter to Innocent I. he took to Rome; he was in Rome again in 405.

wont to give abundantly and without sparing to the poor and needy. And when he had ended his days and came to die, he made no will whatsoever; and he left no money to any man, and he left nothing to his brethren. To his sisters who were virgins, he also left nothing, and he made no provision at all for them, but committed them to the care of Christ, saying, "He "Who created you will provide for your living and "also whatsoever things of which ye have need, even "as He hath [provided] for me." Now with his sisters was a company of about seventy sisters.

Now when I had come unto him to be his disciple, and I was persuading him to hold me worthy of the rank of those who lived in a monastery, being in the vigour of my early manhood and needing not the word only but also the labour of the body, and severe physical exercises, even like the young unbroken animal, I besought him to teach me his beautiful way of life and to let me dwell by myself, for I was heedful of nothing, being in the vigour of my early manhood, and I had no great need of doctrine, but only [to learn] to subdue the passions of the flesh. Then, [Page 110] like a good teacher, he took me outside the city unto a place which was six miles distant, and wherein there was restful solitude, and he handed me over unto an anchorite whose name was Dorotheos,

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF DOROTHEOS OF THEBES.

and whose life was one of spiritual excellence, and who had lived in a cave for sixty years. And he commanded me to live with him, and to lead a life of self-denial with him for a period of three years, so that the passions of the flesh might leave me. For

i*

the blessed Isidore knew that blessed old man, and he knew that his life was stern and severe, and he admonished me, saying, "When thou hast completed this "period of three years, return unto me for the remainder "of the doctrine of spiritual knowledge." But I was unable to fulfil these three years with him, on account of a severe illness into which I fell, and so I departed from Dorotheos before the end of the period, and I returned to him that had brought me out, and entered his abode [that I might learn] the doctrine of the spirit.

Now the life of Dorotheos was one of exceedingly hard toil, and the manner thereof was severe, and his food was meagre and wretched, for he lived on dry bread. And he used to go round about in the desert by the side of the sea the whole day long in the heat of the noonday sun and collect stones with which he built cells, which he used to give unto the brethren who were unable to build [cells for themselves]; and he used to finish one cell each year. One day I said unto the holy man, "Father, why workest thou thus "in thine old age? for thou wilt kill thy body in all "this heat." And he said unto me, "I kill it lest it "should kill me." He used to eat one small bread-cake, which weighed about six ounces, each day, and a little bundle of green herbs; and he drank water by measure. What then? I know not. As God is my witness I never [Page 111] saw this man stretch out [his legs] and lie down as [men are] wont [to do]; and he never slept upon a bed of palm leaves, or upon anything else, but he used to work the whole night long weaving baskets made of palm leaves to provide himself with the daily bread which he required and food. Now I imagined at first that he used to work in this manner because I was present, and then I thought, "Peradventure "it is only for my sake, and to shew me how to per- "form such severe labours, that [he doeth this]." So I made enquiries of many of those who had been his

disciples and who were then living by themselves and were emulating his spiritual excellences, and I also asked others of his disciples who were living by his side if in very truth he always laboured in this wise, and they said unto me, "He hath held to this practice "from his youth up, and he hath never been in the "habit of sleeping according to what is right. In the "day time he never sleepeth willingly, but [sometimes] "when he is working with his hands, or when he is "eating, he closeth his eyes and is snatched away by "slumber. As he sitteth working he eateth, and unless "slumber overcame him [suddenly] he would never sleep "at all. Many and many a time he is overcome by "slumber while he is eating, and the morsel of bread "falleth out of his mouth because he is overcome by "drowsiness." And when from time to time I used to urge him to sit down, or to throw himself upon a mat of palm leaves and to rest a little,¹ he would answer and say unto me in a grieved manner, "If thou art "able to persuade the angels to sleep then thou wilt "be able to persuade me."

One day, towards the ninth hour, DOROTHEOS sent me to the fountain from which he drank water to fetch him some water so that he might eat his meal, for he used to eat about this time, and when I had gone there I chanced to see a viper going down the well; and because of [my] fear I was unable to fill [the pitcher] with water, and I went back to him, and said unto him, "O father, we shall die, for I have seen a "viper [going] down into the water." [Page 112] Now when he heard [these words] he laughed reverently, and constrained himself, and he lifted up his face and looked at me not a little time, and he shook his head, and said unto me, "If it were to happen that Satan "had the power to shew thee in every fountain an "asp, or again to cast into them vipers, or serpents,

¹ Read **هناك** **هناك**.

"or tortoises,¹ or any other kinds of venomous reptiles, "wouldst thou be able to do without drinking water "entirely?" And when he had said these words unto me he went forth and departed [to the fountain] and drew water, and brought [it back], and having made the sign of the Cross over it he straightway drank therefrom before he ate anything. And he constrained me to drink, and said unto me, "Where the seal (*or*, "sign) of the Cross is the wickedness of Satan hath "no power to do harm."

And this blessed man ISIDORE, the overseer of the hospital,² related unto me the following story, which is worthy of record, and he heard it from the blessed ANTHONY when he lived with him in the desert in the days of Emperor MAXIMINUS, the persecutor.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE VIRGIN POTAMIOENIA.

There was a certain young virgin who was exceedingly beautiful and she was a Christian; she was the handmaiden of a certain worldly man who was given over to a life of pleasure, and she lived in very great luxury, and her master flattered her greatly, wishing to destroy her. And being unable to bring her into subjection to his will, he at length was seized with madness, and he became furiously angry with her and delivered her over to a certain prefect who lived at that time in Alexandria, saying, "She is a Christian, and "she revileth the government, and uttereth blasphemies "against the Emperor." And he promised to give him much money, saying, "If she can be persuaded to do

¹ The better reading is *الخفاف*.

² Read *المحبوبه حذق*.

"my will, keep her for me without disgrace and punishment; but if she persisteth in her obstinacy of heart punish her with every kind of torture thou pleasest, and let her not remain alive to laugh at me and at my luxurious way of life." And when they brought the valiant woman before the throne of [Page 113] the judges she was greatly moved, but she was not persuaded; and the prefect tortured the body of the virgin of Christ with many different kinds of tortures. Then again after these things he thought out a crafty plan, and invented a method of punishment by torture which was as follows. He commanded them to bring a huge cauldron which was full of pitch, and to light a fierce fire under it, and when the pitch was melted and was boiling, the judge cried to her, saying, "Go thou and submit thyself to the will of thy lord, and know that if thou doest not this thing thou shalt straightway fall into this cauldron." Now when she heard this, she sealed her soul, and answered and said, "Thou judgest with iniquity, O judge, for thou commandest me to become subject unto fornication. I am the handmaiden of Christ, and it is meet that I should stand before His throne without blemish." And when the judge heard this he was straightway greatly troubled, and filled with wrath, and he commanded them to bring her and to cast her into the cauldron. Then the virgin said unto him, "I adjure thee, by the head of the Emperor, if thou condemnest me to this thing of thine own self, to command them to put me into the cauldron little by little, without stripping my apparel from me, so that thou mayest know the patient endurance which I have through Christ for the sake of my purity." And as they were dipping her little by little into the cauldron, for a very short space of time, immediately the pitch reached her neck it became cold; thus she delivered her soul unto God, and she was crowned with a good martyrdom. And a great congregation of holy men and women were made

perfect¹ at that time in the church of Alexandria, and they became worthy of that land which the meek inherit.

HERE END THE TRIUMPHS OF ISIDORE, AND DOROTHEOS,
AND THE VIRGIN [Page 114].

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF DIDYMUS.

Together with these I also saw a certain blessed man who was in Alexandria, and whose name was DIDYMUS, and who also, with us, wrote these things; now he was blind, and he could not see at all; he was a marvellous man, and I went several times to see him. He was eighty years of age, and he told me that he became blind when he was four years old and could not see at all, but according to what he himself related to me, "After forty years I perceived "the faces (*or*, external aspects) of things." And although this man had never learned the Testaments, and had never entered a school, the gift of an excellent and healthy mind had been given unto him by God, and he became learned in the knowledge of books through an enlightened understanding. And he was adorned with goodness and with the knowledge of the truth to such a degree, and was so ready and was so wholly wise that there was fulfilled in him that which was written, "The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind."² He could interpret the Old and New Testaments word by word in its proper place, and had investigated carefully the commandments and could repeat all the

¹ *I. e.*, they suffered martyrdom.

² Psalm CXLVI. 8.

words which were in them. And he was so thoroughly well acquainted with the belief of the truth (*or*, the true faith), and he comprehended so deeply all heresies that his knowledge was more excellent than that of many who were before him in the Church. Now [once] when he was urging me to make a prayer in his cell and I was unwilling to do so, he spake unto me and related unto me concerning ABBÀ ANTHONY who, he said, "Came three times and visited me in this cell. And when I begged and entreated him to pray, straightway he knelt down upon his knees, and prayed, and waited not for me to speak one word about it, but at the first word he corrected me by his obedience. He did not let me finish my speech, but by work he made manifest obedience." And DIDYMUS said unto me, "Thou also, if thou wishest to walk in his footsteps and [to imitate him] in [his] life and deeds, and in [Page 115] hospitality, and if thou wouldst walk in the life of excellence and in the love of God, remove thyself from contention."

And this blessed man DIDYMUS himself told me the following story. "Once on a time I was suffering by reason of the wretched Emperor YÖLINÔS (JULIAN). Now one day, when it was eventide, and I had eaten no food through my anxiety about this matter, whilst I was sitting on my seat I dropped into a light slumber, and there fell upon me a marvellous thing. I saw and behold there were white horses galloping about, and they had on them riders who were dressed in white, and they were crying out, and saying, 'Tell DIDYMUS that YÖLINÔS (JULIAN) died this day at the seventh hour. Rise up, then, and eat, and send and make [this news] known unto Bishop ATHANASIUS, so that he also may know and rejoice.' And I wrote down the day, and the hour, and the month, [wherein this vision took place], and it was found that it had happened even as it had been told me in the vision."

And the blessed man himself also told me the following story:—

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE MAIDEN ALEXANDRA.

There was a certain maiden of Alexandria whose name was ALEXANDRA, and she left the city and shut herself up in a tomb until the end of her life; she used to receive her food and whatsoever she needed through a window and no man and no woman saw her face, neither did she see the face of any man, for twelve years. And a few days afterwards she yielded up her soul, and she lay down and went to her rest in peace. Now when her serving woman went to visit her according to her wont, she knocked at the window, but Alexandra gave her no answer, and straightway she knew that she was dead, and she came and made known unto us concerning her mistress. And we took off the door¹ of her cell and we found her body dried up.

Now the blessed woman MELI'A² also related unto us the story of Alexandra, saying, "I have [never] seen her face to face. And I stood³ outside the cell, close to the window, and entreated⁴ her to tell me for what reason she had shut herself up in [Page "116] the grave. And Alexandra answered and said unto me, 'Inasmuch as the thought of the love of "God was present in my mind, I prayed before the "Lord, and I entreated Him to permit me to offer

¹ Or, "we uprooted the door of her cell."

² Read مَلَانِيَّة i.e., MELANIA.

³ Read قَامَ عَلَيَّ .

⁴ Read سَأَلْتُهَا .

“unto Him my virginity in the state in which it had
“been born with me. Now a certain young man
“regarded me in his thoughts, and looked upon me,
“and desired me, and sought to destroy me. But
“because I did not want to grieve him, or to say
“what was evil unto him, or to be to him an occasion
“of sin, I chose rather to shut myself up alive in this
“grave than to cause a man who was made in the form
“of the image of God to stumble.’ And I said unto her,
“How canst thou bear [to] live here not seeing the
“face of any man without being driven to despair?
“Then she answered and said unto me, ‘I occupy
“myself with my prayers and with the work of my
“hands, and I have no idle moments. From morn
“until the ninth hour I weave linen, and recite the
“Psalms and pray; and during the rest of the day I
“commemorate in my heart the holy fathers, and I
“revolve in my thoughts the histories of all the Prophets
“and Apostles, and Martyrs; and during the remaining
“hours I work with my hands and eat my bread, and
“by means of these things I am comforted whilst I
“await the end of my life in good hope.’” These
things we have heard from the blessed woman Melhâ
(MELANIA) who told the story of the maiden ALEXANDRA.
But in this history I must not underrate those who
have toiled in the faith of Christ, to the glory of the
perfect and to the admonition of those who hear.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HISTORY OF ABBÂ MACARIUS AND A CERTAIN VIRGIN.

There was in Alexandria a certain virgin who though
meek in appearance was of a haughty disposition.
Now she was exceedingly rich and had possessions

without number, but she never relieved the poor, and the strangers, and those who were in misery [Page 117] and she never gave a drachma to the Church, and notwithstanding the frequent rebuke with which the Fathers rebuked her, she never allowed any portion of riches to leave her. And this woman had kinsfolk, and she adopted her sister's daughter, to whom she used to promise by day and by night [to give her] all that she had, for she had fallen from heavenly love. Now, it is a customary thing which belongeth to the deception of Satan that he produceth avarice under guise of love of family, for that he hath no genuine care for kinsmanship is well known from the fact that he taught murder in order that he might make war [between] brethren, and is admitted by the Holy Book. And, if he imagined that he implanteth solicitude for kinsfolk in [the hearts of] men [it must be remembered] that he is not moved to do this on their behalf because of [his] love for them, but only that he may minister unto his own will, for manifestly he knoweth the sentence of judgment which hath been passed, that the wicked shall not inherit the kingdom of God.¹ For if a man be moved by spiritual understanding, and by divine desire, he will be able to care for his kinsfolk if they be in want without bringing himself into contempt; but if he devoteth the whole of himself to the care for his kinsfolk, and he bringeth himself into contempt by making himself to labour under poverty, he will fall from the divine law. And the divine man David singeth in the Psalms concerning those who possess themselves of the solicitude of the fear of God, and he saith, "Who shall go up into the mountain of the Lord".² Now, inasmuch as he saith "Who" he maketh known concerning the smallness of the number [who shall go up]. And [again he saith],

¹ 1 Corinthians VI. 9.

² Psalm XXIV. 3.

"Who shall stand in His holy place? He whose hands "are clean, and whose heart is chosen, and who giveth "not himself unto poverty."¹ For those who devote themselves to poverty are those who think that the soul is dissolved with this body.

Now this virgin, who possessed the name [of virgin] only, became [Page 118] a stranger unto the various kinds of [spiritual] excellence. And there was a certain priest whose name was MACARIUS,² who wished to cut away as with iron and to lighten the weight of the possessions of those who loved money, and he had the care of, and was the governor of a house for the poor who were sick and infirm in their bodies. And this man thought out the following plan whereby he might entrap the virgin. From his youth up he had been a skilful workman in the cutting of gems, and he went to her, and said, "Certain very precious "emeralds and gems have fallen into my hands, and "whether they have been stolen or not I do not know; "their value cannot be ascertained because they are "above price, but the man who hath them will sell "them for five hundred *dinârs*. If thou wishest to take "them thou wilt be able to recover the price of five "hundred *dinârs* from [the sale of] one of the gems, "and the rest thou wilt be able to employ in the "adornment of thy sister's daughter." Now when the virgin heard this she was perturbed, and she fell down at his feet making entreaty unto him, and saying, "I beseech you to let no other person take them." MACARIUS saith unto her, "Come to my house and see them," but she would not consent to this; and she poured out for him five hundred *dinârs*, and said unto him, "According to what thou dost require even so "take, but I do not wish to see the man who is selling "them."

¹ Psalm XXIV. 3, 4.

² According to some versions he was called ISIDORE.

And having taken the five hundred *dinârs* he spent¹ them on food and on things for the use of those who were hungry, and on the poor. And when much time had passed, inasmuch as he was a famous man in Alexandria—now this blessed man was well known for his love of God, and for the merciful disposition which was in him, and he was almost one hundred years old, and we also knew him and had tarried in his house with him—the virgin was ashamed to call the matter [of the five hundred *dinârs*] to his mind. But finally she found him in the church and said unto him, “I beseech thee [to tell me] how thou hast “disposed of the gems for which we gave thee the “five hundred *dinârs*.” And he answered and said unto her, [Page 119] “When thou gavest me the “money I gave it for the price of the gems; if thou “wishest come and see them in my house, for there “are they deposited. Come and see them, if it pleaseth “thee [so to do], and if thou wilt not then take thy “money.” So she went with him joyfully. Now the place to which [she went] was a house of the poor; in the upper parts thereof were lying women whose bodies were destroyed, and in the lower parts were men. And when they had come there Macarius brought her in through the door, and said unto her, “Which wouldst thou see first, the emeralds or the “gems?” She saith unto him, “Whichever thou pleasest.” Then he took her up to the upper parts of the house and showed her the women whose faces and bodies were diseased and deformed, and said unto her, “These “are the gems”; and he brought her down to the lower parts, and showed her the men, and said unto her, “These are the emeralds. If these please thee, [good “and well]; but if not take thy money.” Then was the virgin ashamed, and she went forth and departed, and by reason of her grief she fell into a sickness, because

¹ After جَبَّ، add some words like جَبَّ يَفْ.

it was through God and of her own will that she had in this wise performed the matter. Finally, however, she came to herself and was exceedingly grateful to the priest; and as for the maiden for whose wedding feast she was laying up her riches, she died.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING THE MONKS WHO LIVED IN NITRIA.


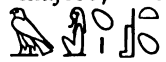
Now having held converse with many of the saints, and having gone round about among the monasteries which were nigh unto Alexandria for three years, and having met about two thousand of the great and strenuous men who lived there and who were adorned with the excellence of spiritual lives, I departed from there and came to Mount Nitria. Now between this mountain and Alexandria there lieth a certain lake which is called Mareotis, which embraceth a space of seventy miles. And having seated myself in a ship I crossed this lake [Page 120] in a day and a half, and I came unto the mountain to the south whereunto is joined the desert which reacheth unto Cush (Ethiopia). In this mountain of the GEOMASTIKÊ¹ and of the MÔRÎ-TÎNÊ² there live excellent men who are adorned with divers kinds of ascetic virtues; and every monk leadeth the ascetic life as he wisheth and as he is able, either by himself or in a community. Now in this mountain there are seven bakers who make bread and who minister unto them, and unto the chosen men of the inner desert, of whom there are six hundred, and also unto the people of that mountain. And when I had

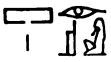
¹ Bedjan's reading is *جوماستية*; Migne's text has *καὶ τῶν Μαζίκων*.

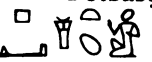
² *I. e.*, the Mauritanians; Migne's text has *καὶ τῆς Μαυριτανίας*.


dwelt in this mountain for a year, and had profited by the fathers, the pious and blessed men, I mean RABBA BARSIS,¹ and BÛSÎRÎS² PÔTBASTÔS,³ and AGÎÔS, and KHRÔNÎS, and SERAPION,⁴ and had learned from them also concerning the ancient and first spiritual fathers [who had lived there], I entered into the inner desert wherein is Mount Nitria.

In this mountain is a great church, and in the courtyard thereof are three palm trees, in each of which hangeth a whip. One of these is for the correcting of the monks who transgress through folly; the second is for the punishing of the thieves if they be found falling on the place; and the third is for the chastising of the strangers who flock there and who transgress in any matter whatsoever. And it is the same with anyone who shall commit any offence; they bring him to the palm tree and punish him, and he receiveth upon his back the number of stripes which they have appointed unto him. Adjoining the church is a house in which the strangers who arrive there may lodge, and if any man wisheth to work [there] one year, or two, or until he departeth of his own accord [he may do so]; and every week of days they permit him [Page 121] to rest, so that he may do nothing, but they give him work during the remaining days of the week, either among the bakers, or in the

¹ . The Greek and Latin texts have Ἀρσισίου τοῦ μεγάλου, and "Arsisio majore;" Arsisius is derived from the Egyptian Heru-sa Ast 

² The Greek and Latin texts have no equivalent for the name Busiris, which seems to be the equivalent of some Egyptian name like Pa-Âsar 

³ Pôtbastôs is clearly the equivalent of the Egyptian name  Pe-tâ Bast, *i. e.*, the "gift of Bast."

⁴ *I. e.*, the Egyptian Âsar-Hâpi 

refectory.¹ And if there was among these anyone who was sufficiently educated they used to give him a book to read, but they did not allow him to hold converse with any man until the sixth hour. There were also in this mountain physicians for the use of the sick, and those who sold cakes;² and they also used wine which was sold there. All these people worked at the weaving of linen with their hands, and there was no needy man there. Now when the evening cometh thou must rise up to hear the praises, and the Psalms, and the prayers which are sent up to Christ by the people from the monasteries which are there, and a man might imagine, his mind being exalted, that he was in the Paradise of Eden.

Now the monks only came to church on the Sabbath and on the First Day of the week. Belonging to this church there were eight priests and governors, but as long as the first one lived none of the others ministered in the church; he neither judged nor spake with any man, and they lived with him a life of silent contemplation. Now this great man ARSÎÔS (ARSISIUS) and many of the ancient holy men whom we saw, were followers of the rule of the blessed man ANTHONY, and ARSÎÔS (ARSISIUS) himself told me that the holy man AMMÔN who was from Nitria, and whom he knew, and whose soul was taken up and carried by the angels into heaven, even saw ANTHONY. And ARSÎÔS (ARSISIUS) also spake to me concerning the blessed man PACHOMIUS, who came from Tabenna of ΗΕΚΗΛΑΜ,³ and who possessed the gift of prophecy, and who became the governor and head of three thousand men; of this man I will relate the virtues at the end [of this book].

¹ Read ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲱⲥ.

² Gr. πλακουντάριοι.

³ The Greek has τὸν Ταβεννησιώτην; ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲛⲉⲥⲓⲱⲧⲉⲛ I cannot explain.

CHAPTER VIII.

[Page 122] THE HISTORY OF ABBÂ AMMÔN.

Concerning the blessed man AMMÔN, he used to say:—He became a monk in this wise. When he was a young man, and was about twenty-two years old, he was left an orphan¹ by his parents. His father's brother wanted to give him a wife, and because he was unable to resist the counsel of his uncle he was compelled by force to marry one, and to fasten the crown of bridegrooms upon his head, and to take his seat in the marriage chamber, and to fulfil everything according to the law of the marriage feast. Now, AMMÔN submitted to everything outwardly, but, after every one had gone forth having put AMMÔN and his wife to bed in the marriage chamber, the blessed man rose up and shut the door and seated himself. And he called to the true and blessed woman his spouse, and said unto her, "Henceforth thou shalt be my lady and my sister; "come therefore, and I will relate unto thee concerning "a matter which is more excellent [than marriage]. "The marriage which men contract is a perishable "thing, but let us choose for ourselves the marriage "which perisheth not, and the marriage feast which "never endeth. Let us each sleep alone, for in this "wise we shall please Christ; and let us guard the "glory of our virginity unspotted, so that we may take "our rest at the marriage feast which is incorruptible." Then he took out a book from his bosom and read to the maiden [passages] which were uttered by the Apostles and by our Redeemer, and since she had no knowledge of the Scriptures he added unto their words from his own divine mind. And he read many passages unto her and talked much to her concerning

¹ Read *ܐܘܪܫܐܢܐ*.

virginity and purity, and at length, by the grace of Christ, she was persuaded. Then she answered and said unto him, "Master, I know well that a rule of life "of purity is very much more excellent [than marriage]; "therefore whatsoever pleaseth thee that do. And I "also from this time forth will be persuaded [to do] "whatsoever thou wishest to do."

Then AMMÔN [Page 123] said unto her, "I beg and "entreat thee to let each of us from this time forth "dwell alone"; but she would not agree to this, and said, "Let us live in the same house, and let each of "us have a separate bed." So they dwelt together holily in the same house for eighteen years. In the morning AMMÔN used to go forth and pass the whole day in cultivating the balsam trees which he had in his garden—now the balsam tree is like unto the vine and must be planted, and pruned, and cultivated, and it demandeth great attention—and in the evening he entered into his house, and recited his prayers, and then ate with her. And he also rose up to [to say] the praises (*or*, hymns) of the night, and as soon as the dawn had come he would depart to the garden. Now as they were doing these things they both removed themselves from passions, and attained unto impassibility, and the prayers of ABBÂ AMMÔN helped [his wife]. And at length the blessed woman said unto him, "Master, I have something to say unto "thee, if thou wilt hearken unto me, and I am convinced that for God's sake thou lovest me." The blessed man said unto her, "Tell [me] what thou "wishest [to say]"; and she said unto him, "It is not "right (seeing that thou art a God-fearing man, and "one who liveth a life of righteousness, and that thou "hast also made me, outwardly, to yearn for this path "[of life], and by the help of divine grace I have gotten "purity), to live with me. It is not good that, for my "sake, thou who dwellest with me in purity for our "Lord's sake, shouldst hide the spiritual excellence

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"of thy philosophy; for it is not seemly that thy fair deeds should be hidden, and should not be known. "Let thy dwelling be apart from me and [thus] thou shalt benefit many." Then AMMÔN praised God, and said unto her, "O lady, this mind is beautiful, and if 'it be acceptable unto thee do thou remain and abide "[Page 124] in this house in peace, and I will go "and make another for myself." And having gone forth from her AMMÔN departed and entered into Mount Nitria, where as yet the monasteries were not numerous, indeed up to that time there were no monasteries at all there; and he built himself a habitation there, and dwelt therein for two and twenty years. And having attained unto the highest practice of the labours of the ascetic life he ended his days, that is to say, the holy man AMMÔN went to his rest and slept when he was sixty-two years of age. Twice in the year he used to go and see his spouse; and he died in his virginity, and his wife likewise brought the years of her life to an end in purity.

Now the following wonderful thing is told¹ concerning him by the blessed ATHANASIUS, Bishop of Alexandria, in the book which he composed about the life and deeds of the blessed Anthony. Once when he was about to cross the river which is called DÏBHÂ² with THEODORE his disciple, he was ashamed to take off his clothes [lest] he might see the nakedness of his person. And being doubtful in his mind (*literally* thoughts) how he should cross over wonder fell upon him, and through an angel he crossed the river without any [boat] whatsoever [on his part]. It was the same AMMÔN who saw the blessed man ANTHONY, who lived and died in such wise that his soul was taken to heaven by angels, and it was he who passed over the waters by the might of the Holy Spirit. Now as

¹ We have already had this story in Saint Anthony's life.

² An exact translation of τὸν Λύκον ποταμόν.

CHAPTER IX.

Now in Mount Nitria there was a certain man whose name was ÔR, concerning whom men, especially all the brotherhood, testify to many of his triumphs, and also that [Page 125] marvellous and excellent woman MELHÂ (*i. e.*, MELANIA), the handmaiden of Christ, who went into this mountain before I did. As for me, I never became acquainted with this man. And in his history they say this one thing. "He never told a lie "in his life, and he never used oaths; he never uttered "a curse, and beyond what was absolutely necessary he "never spoke at all."

In this mountain there also lived the blessed man PANBÔ (*or*, PAMBÔ), who was the teacher and master of the Bishops² [DIOSCORUS], AMÔNIS (AMMONIUS), EUSEBIUS, [EUTHEMÎS] (EUTYMIUS), and EUÔRGHÂNIS (ORIGEN) the nephew of DRACONTIUS, a marvellous man. Now this man PANBÎS possessed [the power to utter] words

² Bedjan's text has : **ḥmšwšw ḥmšwšw ḥmšwšw ḥmšwšw**
.**ḥmšwšw**

of prophecy, and splendid triumphs, yet with all these he despised gold and silver, even as the Word demandeth. Now the following things [concerning him] were related unto me by the blessed woman MELËA (*i. e.*, MELANIA):—When I first came from Rome to Alexandria I heard concerning the life and deeds of PANBÔ, inasmuch as the blessed man ISIDORE, who also brought me unto him in the desert, told me about him. And I brought unto him a basket which was filled with stamped silver (*i. e.*, coined money) three hundred pounds [in weight], and I begged him to accept some of my possessions for his needs. He was sitting and plaiting the leaves of palm trees, and as he was doing this he merely blessed me, and said, “God give thee thy reward!” Then he said unto his steward whose name was ÎWÂRGHÂNIS (ORIGEN), “Take and distribute “[this] among all the brethren who are in the Island “and in Lëbhônâ (Libya);” for these monasteries are exceedingly poor, and he commanded the steward not to give unto any man who dwelt in Egypt, for those who dwell therein have [abundant] means of subsistence. Now I stood there and I expected to be treated with honour or to be praised for the greatness of the gift, but when I heard nothing from him, I said unto him, “Master, knowest thou how much money it is, and that “there are three hundred pounds [in the basket]?” Then PANBÔ, without [Page 126] lifting up his gaze said unto me, “My daughter, He unto Whom thou “hast offered thy money hath no need [to know] the “weight. For He Who weighed the mountains in a “balance knoweth how much is the weight of thy silver. “If thou hadst given the money unto me thou wouldst “have done well to have informed me concerning the “weight thereof; but since thou hast given it to God, “Who did not despise the two mites of the widow, “[what need hast thou to tell Him?] Hold thy peace.”

Now our Lord so directed that in the day on which I entered the mountain this blessed man died without

having been ill, for he died whilst he was sewing together palm leaves for mats, without fever and without sickness. And he was seventy years old. Now he was sewing together palm leaves for a mat, and coming to the end of it he sent and called me. And when he had finished sewing it, he said unto me, "Take this mat from my hands, so that thou mayest keep me in remembrance, for I have nothing else whatsoever to leave thee;" and having given it unto me he straightway died. And I wrapped his body in linen swathings, and buried him, and then I departed from the desert; and I shall treasure the mat as a sacred relic until the day of my death. Now at the time of the death of this holy man PANBÔ there were standing before him certain famous men, ORIGEN the priest and steward, and AMÔNIS (AMMONIUS), together with the remainder of the brethren, and they told [me] that, at the time of his death, he said, "From the day wherein I came into this desert and built this cell in which I have lived [until this day] I know not that I have [ever] eaten the bread of idleness [or bread] which did not come from the labour of mine own hands; and my soul repenteth not that I have ever spoken an empty word in my life; thus I go to God like one who hath, as yet, not made a beginning in the fear of God." And ÊWÂRGÂNIS (ORIGEN) and AMÔNIS (AMMONIUS), the servants¹ of Christ, in telling us the story of his life bore witness concerning him that he was never asked a question by any man about a saying from the Book, or about the rules and labours of the ascetic life [Page 127] which he did not either answer immediately, or say, "I have not as yet understood the matter." Now there were times when he spake these words [only] after three months' consideration of a matter; and he used to make answer with such understanding that every man received the

¹ Read ܐܡܘܢܝܐ.

things which were said by him with as great reverence as if they had [been said] by God. Now this excellence was also attributed to ANTHONY the Great and to the rest of the holy men. Among other things which are said concerning the holy man PANBÔ is the following. The blessed man Piôr once went to PANBÔ's cell and took with him some bread, and PANBÔ made a complaint, saying unto him, "Why hast thou done this?" Then Abbâ Piôr made answer, saying, "Let [this thing] be not grievous unto thee;" but PANBÔ was silent and sent him away. And after some time Rabbâ PANBÔ went to the cell of Abbâ Piôr, and he took with him bread which had been dipped in water; and being asked "Why hast thou done this?" the blessed man PANBÔ said unto him, "Let it not be grievous unto thee that I have also dipped the bread in water."

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED AMMONIUS.

Now this man AMMONIUS and his three brothers and his two sisters were disciples of Rabbâ PANBÔ; and when they had attained unto the perfection of divine life and conversation they departed from the desert, and founded two monasteries, I mean, one for men and one for women, but they placed the monastery of the women at a sufficient distance from that of the men, for Ammonius did not greatly love the intercourse of speech. It was for this reason that a certain city desired that he should be its bishop, and the people thereof drew nigh unto the blessed man TIMOTHY, Bishop of Alexandria,¹ and entreated [Page 128] him

¹ Probably Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria, who sat from 381 to 385.

to make the blessed Ammonius their Bishop; and TIMOTHY told them to bring AMMONIUS unto him and that he would make him their Bishop. Then they took with them much people and they went unto AMMONIUS to bring him, and when he saw them, he tried to find means to take to flight. But when he saw that he was unable to escape from them, he tried to persuade them, with many oaths, that he would not accept it, but he was not sufficient for the matter.¹ And when they would not be persuaded² by him, he seized a razor and cut out his left ear at the root, and said unto them, "Now I am indeed persuaded that "I cannot be that which ye are urging me to be, for "the Law also commandeth, 'The man whose ear hath "been cut off shall not draw nigh unto the altar;'"³ so they left him and went and informed the Bishop, who said unto them, "This law is observed among the "Jews, but even if his nose was split and he had fine "qualities I would make him Bishop." Then the people went to AMMONIUS again and entreated him [to come], and when the pious man would not be persuaded by them, they wanted to take him and to make him come by force; but he said unto them, "If ye do [not] leave "me I will also slit my tongue;" and when they heard this they left him and departed.

Concerning this man AMMONIUS so wonderful a thing as the following is said. Whenever a carnal thought entered his mind he never spared his body, but he would make a piece of iron hot on the fire and lay it upon his members, so that they might always be in a state of wounds. From his youth up his rule was as follows:—whatsoever is cooked by fire he would never eat. He could repeat the Books of the Old and New Testaments by heart, [Page 129] and he used to read

¹ *I. e.*, he could not make them give up their intention.

² Read *وَمَا يَسْمَعُونَ*.

³ Leviticus XXVI. 17.

also the books [which were composed by] excellent men, by ÎWÂRGHÂNIS (ORIGEN), and by DÛDÎMÂ (DIDYMUS), and by PÂRIS (PIERIUS), and by ESTAPÂNÂ (STEPHEN) [containing] about ten thousand six hundred sayings; concerning this the great fathers who lived in the desert bear witness. It is also said that this man possessed the power of foretelling events, and living in his cell he was so great a comforter to the brethren who lived in the desert that no other man could be compared with him. Now the blessed man EVAGRIUS, who was clothed with the spirit, and was skilled in examining thoughts, used to say, "I never saw any man who had attained more closely unto impassibility than AMMONIUS."

Once a certain need of those who were dwelling in the desert called the blessed man AMMONIUS, and RUFINUS who was at that time the prefect [also] greatly persuaded him, and he went up to Constantinople. And with him there were also the holy Bishops, and other monks who had come from various provinces [to be present] at the service of restoration of a certain martyrion which RUFINUS had built. And RUFINUS wished him to receive him after holy baptism at the service of restoration of the temple which he had built, and so the blessed man received him from the bishops who had baptized him. Thus, as was right, RUFINUS paid to the blessed man AMMONIUS the honour which is due to a life of asceticism, and he used to listen to him in everything; and after a short time he died and was buried in the martyrion which is called the "martyrion of RUFINUS," and many helpful acts took place at his grave on behalf of those who [were worthy] of help.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED BENJAMIN.

And there was also in the mountain of Nitria a marvellous man whose name was BENJAMIN, who attained to a high state of perfection in the ascetic life, for he had [Page 130] fasted and toiled for eighty years. Now he was held to be worthy of the gift of the craft of the physician, and from every wound (*or*, stripe) upon which he laid his hand, and which Christ blessed or gave [him the power to heal], straightway every pain departed. And this man, who was worthy of such a gift, collected water in his body for eight months before his death, and he was so much swollen that he might well have been called a second JOB. And DIOSCURUS took us, that is to say, the blessed IWÂRGHÂNIS (ORIGEN) and myself, and said unto us, "Come ye and see 'a new JOB, who whilst [suffering "from] such a severe disease of the body as this healeth "others." And BENJAMIN gave thanks concerning his affliction beyond measure, and glorified God continually, and his soul rejoiced and was glad in the hope which is laid up for the saints. Now when we had gone and seen the swelling of his body we found that it had become so large that a man could not with all his hand encircle one of his fingers; and being unable to look upon such a terrible affliction through disease we turned away our eyes. Then the blessed man BENJAMIN said unto us, "My sons, pray ye that the "inner man may not collect water. Even when this "my body was in health it in no wise helped me, and "now that it is sick it in no wise hindereth me." Now during the [last] eight months of his illness they made a broad chair for him, and he used to sit therein always, because he was not able to lie down upon a bed by reason of the necessity of his belly and of the other

[members of his] body. And whilst he himself lived in such suffering through all his affliction he was healing others, and it is for this reason that I am compelled to narrate to you concerning the affliction of this righteous man, so that when such an affliction as this happeneth unto the righteous we may not hold the matter to be hard. Now when this blessed man died the whole of the framework of the doorway had to be removed to enable them [Page 131] to bring out his body from his cell, for his body was very large indeed.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HISTORY OF APOLLONIUS.¹

And again another man, whose name was APOLLONIUS, used to dwell in this Mount Nitria, and he was a merchant who had come there to learn to lead the life and conversation of the anchorite. Now this man found no handicraft at the exercise of which he could employ himself, and he could neither fast nor keep vigil like the other ascetics to any great extent. During the twenty years which he lived in this mountain it was his rule of life and triumph that by his own labour and toil he used to buy from Alexandria every thing which was required by the brethren, and the things which were needed for the healing of the sick, and carry them to the sick. And it was a marvellous thing to see him going about among the monasteries and cells of the brethren each day, from the earliest dawn, when he set out, until the ninth hour, and he used to stand by the door and say, "Is there, peradventure, any one sick here?" And he carried about pomegranates, and dried cakes, and

¹ Bedjan's text adds ~~the~~ "the merchant."

raisins, and eggs,¹ and the things which are necessary for the sick. Now, he found this rule of life easy to acquire, and to continue until his old age, and he was able to attend to the affairs of the five thousand brethren who were dwelling in the mountain. And when he died he left whatsoever he had unto another man like unto himself, and he begged him to carry out this ministration, because the [place where the monks lived] was a desert and was destitute of the things of the world.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HISTORIES OF THE NATURAL BRETHREN PAESIUS AND ISAIAH.

And there were also there two brethren, whose names were PAESIUS and ISAIAH, who were the sons of [Page 132] a certain merchant who traded in Spain; and when their father died they divided his inheritance between them, and there came to each of them money which amounted to five thousand *dinârs*, and furniture, and raiment, and slaves, and property of all kinds.² And these blessed men took counsel together and meditated together and said unto each other, "By what manner of trafficking shall we live in this world? If we continue to exercise the trade of our father, we shall only double our labour and toil for [the benefit of] others; and perhaps [our wealth] will fall into the hands of thieves by land or of pirates by sea." And whilst they were being troubled by such thoughts as these they answered and said unto each other, "Let us come to the way of truth, and let us acquire the life and conversation of the Christians, whereby we

¹ Gr. σταφίδας, ῥοὰς, ὠὰ, σιλίγνια.

² Literally, "whatsoever was found."

"shall both keep the benefit of what our father hath left us, and get possession of our soul." And this proposition concerning the labour of the dwellers in monasteries was pleasing unto them, and each of them found in his discipleship the power to judge as to what work he should embrace. And, having divided their father's inheritance they both possessed the eager care to please God by the various kinds of labours of life of the mourner. One of them divided everything which had come to him and gave it to the churches and monastic habitations, and distributed it among the poor and needy; and he learned a handicraft at which he could work and earn [his] daily bread, and he was constant in prayer and fasting. The other brother did not distribute [his possessions], but he built himself a monastery and gathered together unto him a few brethren, and providing therefor became a care unto him. All strangers and poor folk, and all the aged men and sick folk who thronged unto him he used to receive and relieve their wants. And every first day of the week, and every Sabbath, he used to prepare three tables and relieve the wants of everyone who happened to be present there; and thus he spent all his possessions.

Now, when the two brothers died abundant blessing was ascribed unto them by the whole brotherhood, but the one [Page 133] brother pleased some of them [most], and the other the others; and although the brethren praised both brothers, a dispute arose among them concerning the superior merit of one or the other of the two brothers. Then the brethren went to the blessed PANBÔ and related the matter unto him, and wished to learn which rule of life and labour was the greater and more excellent. And PANBÔ said unto them, "They are both perfect. One man made manifest the work of ABRAHAM by his hospitality, and the other the self-denial of ELIJAH." And again the brethren said unto him, "How is it possible for the two to be

"equal in merit? We praise and magnify him who
"embraced poverty, for we find that he did the work
"of the Gospel in selling everything that he had and
"giving it to the poor, and that every day, and at
"every season, both by day and by night, he took up
"his cross and followed after his Lord by his fasting
"and his prayers." And again the other brethren
contended with them, saying, "The other brother
"showed such supreme compassion on those who were
"strangers and on those who were afflicted that he
"would even sit in the highways and gather together
"the passers by who were in trouble; and not only
"did he relieve his own soul, but he also brought a
"lightening unto many souls that were heavy laden,
"and he would make ready the dead for the grave
"and bury [them]." And the blessed PANBÔ said unto
them, "Again I say unto you that both are equal [in
"merit], and I will tell you how each of them became so.
"Unless the one had fasted he would not have been
"worthy of the goodness and compassion of the other,
"and again, the other in relieving the wants of strangers
"also lightened his own load, for although a man may
"think that he hath trouble in receiving [them] yet he
"also gaineth rest of body. But tarry ye here a few
"days so that I may learn [the answer] from God, and
"come ye [back] to me and I will declare [it] unto
"you." And after a few days they came unto him,
and they asked him to tell them what had been
revealed unto [Page 134] him; and he answered and
said unto them, "I have seen them both standing in
"the Paradise of Eden, as it were in the presence of
"God."

CHAPTER XV.

THE HISTORY OF MACARIUS, THE CHILD OF HIS CROSS.¹

There was also a certain youth whose name was MACARIUS, and when he became a young man about eighteen years old, he used to pasture sheep and herds, along with [other] young men of his own age and position, by the side of the lake which is called Mâriâ (Mareotis), and without wishing to do so he unwittingly committed a murder; and without saying a word to any man he straightway rose up and departed, and he went out and journeyed into the desert. Thus he attained to the fear of God, and to the love of men, in such wise that he esteemed himself lightly; and he passed three years in the desert, in the open air, and without a roof [over his head]. Now in that country no rain falleth, and this everyone, so to say, knoweth, either from hearsay or from actual experience. And after three years he built himself a cell, and he dwelt therein for five and twenty years [and performed] great labours; and he was held worthy of the divine gift of being able to treat with contempt the devils, and he was completely happy in the ascetic life and in the noble labours thereof. Now I dwelt hard by this man for no short time, and once I asked him, "What is thy thought about the sinfulness of that murder [which thou didst commit]?" And he said unto me, "I am entirely untroubled by it, for I am bound to confess that the sin of [this] involuntary murder was the good cause of the redemption of my life, and the testimony of the Book confirmeth this view, saying, not even Moses, the servant of the Lord, would have been held worthy of the divine vision unless, through fear for the murder which he had committed, he had

¹ Gr. Περὶ Μακαρίου τοῦ ἀκούσιον Φόνον πολήσαντος.

"forsaken Egypt, [Page 135] and come unto Mount Sinai, where he was held to be worthy of converse "with God, and to compose the commandments of the "spirit."

Now we speak these things, not because we wish to help murder, but only in order that we may particularly shew that spiritual excellences spring from tribulations, when a man is not of his own will persuaded to draw nigh unto goodness. Some spiritual excellences arise from the will, and some from tribulation; and in the works which I have found appended to this history I have discovered that the murder which MACARIUS committed belonged to this latter class.¹ And MACARIUS prayed always, and he prayed with his hands stretched out in the form of a cross. And when he had drawn nigh to the end of his course, which was not caused by illness, at that time [I say] he stood up in the corner of his cell, and stretched out his hands in prayer, and thus praying he yielded up his spirit. And when he who used to bring him food came and saw him standing by the side of the wall with his hands stretched out, he remained standing outside thinking that MACARIUS was standing up in prayer, as was his wont. Then, having waited for about three hours, he opened the door and went in, and he said unto him, "Bless, master!" And when he did not answer him he drew nigh and shook him; and when he saw that he was dead² he came to us and told us, and having come we saw him standing in the form of a cross, and we marvelled. Now when we had laid him out upon the ground we were unable to bring his hands nigh unto his body, and so we dug his grave in the form of a cross and laid him in it. And I was sorely grieved because of his departure,

¹ For the rest of this Chapter there is no Latin equivalent printed by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 943, col. 1.

² Read *ἄψυχος*.

and I fell into a slumber and slept, and a voice came unto me, which said, "Inasmuch as during his lifetime he loved the cross, which he bore through his good works, in it also he shall have his rest; in the form of that which he desired longingly hath he been buried, and in the same form shall he stand up at the right hand on the day of Christ." [Page 136] And having heard these things I awoke, and I glorified God and the power of the Cross.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED NATHANIEL.

And there was also another man among the aged ones whose name was NATHANIEL, and him I never met in his life, for he died fifteen years before I entered into this mountain; but I have met those who dwelt with him for a long time. And having made enquiries of these I learned concerning the triumphs of the man, and they also shewed me his cell wherein at that time no man was living, because it was nigh unto the world; but ABBÂ NATHANIEL built it long ago when the monks were few in number.

Now they used to relate concerning this man that his patient endurance in his cell was such that he never moved from his place to go outside the door of his habitation for the disposition of his will. At the beginning he was laughed at by the Evil One, who mocketh at and leadeth astray every man, and he made NATHANIEL to feel weariness in his first cell, and he went and built himself another cell in the neighbourhood of the city. Now after he had built the other cell and had dwelt therein, some three or four months later the devil, who had waged war against him from the beginning, came by night holding in his

hand a sling like a hunter, and he was dressed in the garb of the Romans, and he was slinging [stones] with the sling which he was holding. Then the blessed man NATHANIEL answered and said unto him, "Who art thou who doest these things in the place wherein I dwell?" The devil said unto him, "I am he who made thee to flee from thy first cell, and I have come that I may make thee to flee [Page 137] from this place." Now when he knew that the devil was laughing at him because he had departed from his first [cell], straightway he turned and went back thereto, and he lived in his first cell for the space of thirty and seven years in such strict abnegation that he never passed outside the door, and meanwhile he was warring with the devil. And the wicked devil made him to experience so many afflictions and troubles in order to drive him out of his cell that it would be impossible for [any] man to recount them. But the Evil One watched [and obtained his opportunity] in the arrival of the bishops who came to NATHANIEL (now they were all holy men), and whether the ordering of the matter was due to the will of God, or to the temptation of the Evil One, we know not, but he made NATHANIEL to fall away somewhat from his intention. For when the Bishops had prayed and had gone forth, NATHANIEL did not escort them the distance of one step, and the servants who were with them said [to him], "Dost thou possess the faculty of pride that thou wilt not accompany the Bishops?" Then NATHANIEL said unto them, "I died once and for all to my lords the Bishops, and to the whole world, and I have a secret matter concerning which it is God only Who knoweth my heart, and why I did not go forth and escort them."

Then that devil, who was still making a mock of this self-abnegation, nine months before NATHANIEL's death took upon himself the form of a young man who was about twenty years old, and he was following

after an ass which was carrying bread in the bed of the river. Now when it was far into the evening the young man passed close to the cell, and pretended that the ass had fallen down under its burden, and he began to cry out, and said, "Abbâ Nathaniel, help me, "and come and render me assistance." And NATHANIEL heard the voice of the young man who he thought was crying out, and he opened the door, and as he was standing inside, he spake with him, and said unto him, "Who art thou? And what dost thou want me "to do for thee?" And the young man said [Page 138] unto him, "I am such and such a young man, and I "am carrying bread to such and such a brother because "he wisheth to make a love feast, and the day which "dawneth to-morrow will be the Sabbath, and [bread "for] the Offering will be necessary. I beg of thee "therefore not to tarry in assisting me, lest the hyenas "come and devour both me and the ass." Now there were many hyenas in that place.

Then the blessed NATHANIEL stood still in great astonishment, and he was much troubled in his mind by the mercy which had revealed itself to him, and he meditated within himself, saying, "It is either through "the command of God that I must fall, or through my "will [having reached] its limit."¹ Finally he meditated within himself and said, "It is better for him who hath "guarded for all these years the limit of his will, and "hath not passed over his door, to remain in the same "condition which will put the Evil One to shame than "to go out;" and he prayed to God. Then he made answer unto him whom he believed to be a young man crying out, and said unto him, "Young man, hear me! "I believe that the God Whom I serve will send thee "help if it be needed by thee, and that neither the "hyenas nor anything else will harm thee; but if thou "art a temptation may God discover thy craftiness!"

¹ Literally, "or through the limit of my will."

And he shut the door and held his peace. And that devil was put to shame, and by reason of his wickedness he took the form of a whirlwind and the forms of wild asses which dance about and skip and emit wind. This is the [story of the] triumph of the blessed NATHANIEL, and this is the [story of] his labour and of his ending.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO EXALTED AND EXCELLENT MEN,
MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, THE DISCIPLE OF MÂR ABBÂ
ANTHONY, AND MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN.

Concerning the holy and immortal fathers, that is to say MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, and MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN, who were men to be feared and who were invincible athletes, and concerning the strife of their life, and deeds, and conversation, it is exceedingly right and good that we should tell the story; but perhaps it will not be accepted by the unbelievers, and [Page 139] therefore I find it difficult to relate their history and to set it down completely in writing, lest by so doing I should be accounted a liar. And that the Lord destroyeth those who speak falsehood the Holy Spirit maketh clearly manifest. Now as I myself do not put to the lie the help of Christ, do not thou, O LAUSUS, thou believer in men, become an unbeliever in the triumphs of the holy fathers which are spoken of, but adorn thyself more and more with the deeds and conversation of these glorious men who were in very truth, even as they are called, blessed men. Now the athlete of Christ, the first MACARIUS, was by race an Egyptian, and the second MACARIUS, although he was second to him in the matter of age, was, nevertheless, first in the opinion¹ of the monks (*or*, solitaires):

¹ Literally, fore knowledge.

and this man, whose name also was MACARIUS, which is interpreted "blessed," was from the city of Alexandria, and he was [one] of those who sold dried fruit and wine.

Now¹ in another manuscript I have found a different version [of the history of the two MACARII which I have used] in the preparation of [this] history, and I set this down here also; now it reads as follows:—

Now as concerning the two blessed men whose names were the same, inasmuch as their rule of life and conversation were of an exceedingly exalted character perhaps many will not believe [what I write]. I, however, am afraid lest I may understate and belittle their triumphs in any way whatsoever, and lie concerning them, for it is written, "Thou wilt destroy those who speak falsehood."² The Holy Spirit hath passed this sentence upon me, therefore, O beloved and faithful men, believe ye me. Now one of these two blessed men was an Egyptian by race, and the other was an Alexandrian who sold dried fruits. But first of all I will tell the story of the ascetic excellences of MACARIUS the Egyptian, the whole of whose years were ninety; he was thirty years old when he went up [Page 140] to the desert, and he lived therein for sixty years. And he was given the gift of [performing] mighty deeds in such a remarkable manner that he was called by the fathers "the aged youth", because straightway and quickly he ascended to the highest grade of ascetic excellence and gifts, and to the power of interpreting the Scriptures, and to spiritual foresight. And the gift of possessing power over devils was also given to him, and he was also esteemed worthy of the priesthood. With this blessed man there lived in the further (*or*, inner) desert which is called "SCETE" two disciples; one of these was his servant, for many folk were wont to come unto him to be healed, and the other remained

¹ This is a note of a careful scribe or editor.

² Psalm XII. 3.

always in a cell which was nigh unto MACARIUS. Now when much time had passed by MACARIUS looked and said unto him that ministered unto him, now his name was JOHN, and he afterwards became the elder in the place of the blessed man, he answered, I say, and said unto him, "Hear me, O JOHN, and receive the rebuke "with which I rebuke thee. For thou art suffering "temptation, and behold, the spirit of the love of money "(*i. e.*, avarice) tempteth thee, for even so have I seen. "And I know that if thou wilt listen unto me thy end "in this place shall be praised, and no harm shall draw "nigh unto thy habitation. But if thou wilt not hearken "unto me, because of the love of money which moveth "thee, the leprosy of GEHAZI shall come upon thee at "the end." And it came to pass some fifteen or twenty years after the death of the blessed man JOHN forgot his commandment, and because he used to steal from the poor his body became so covered with leprosy that there was not in the whole of it one sound spot large enough for a man to lay his finger upon. Thus the prophecy of the blessed MACARIUS concerning JOHN actually came to pass.

Now if we were to attempt to describe the food and drink of the holy man we should do what is superfluous, because among the careless monks^{*} who lived in that place [Page 141] there was not to be found any one thing which could lead to excess either in eating or drinking, first because of the poverty of the spot, and secondly because of the divine zeal which they displayed towards each other; but I may mention his sad and stern habits of self-denial in various other ways. And they relate concerning him that he was at all times in a state of wonder at some divine vision, and that he used to become like a drunken man by reason of some hidden vision, and that his mind was

^{*} *I. e.*, the monks troubled themselves in no way as to what they ate or drank.

more often exalted unto God than it was concerned with the things which are in this world and those which are under the heavens. And, as concerning the wonderful things which God wrought by his hands it is not seemly that we should keep silence, and of him the following marvellous things are told.

A certain Egyptian loved another man's wife, but since he was not able to incite her to love him and to make her yield to his will, he spake unto a certain magician, saying, "Make this woman to love me, or employ thy sorcery in some way so that her husband may hate her, and cast her out." Now when the magician had received money not a little, he made use of his sorceries, and he made the woman to appear in the form of a mare; and when her husband went into his house from outside, and saw her, astonishment seized him at [the sight of] a mare lying upon his bed. Then he lifted up his voice in a sorrowful cry, and he wept tears and heaved sighs; and he spake with her, but she made no reply unto him, and she answered him not a word. And having seen what had taken place, he went to the elder of the village,¹ and told him concerning this matter, and brought him and took him in and shewed him what had happened. And for a space of three days he knew not what the matter was, for the mare neither ate dried grass like an animal, nor did she partake of bread like a daughter of man; and she did without food of either kind. Finally, however, in order that God might be glorified, and a miracle might also be made manifest at the hands of the blessed MACARIUS, and his spiritual perfection be made known, it entered into the mind of the man who was the woman's husband to take her [Page 142] to the desert to the blessed MACARIUS. And having saddled her like a mare, and thrown over

¹ *I. e.*, the village *shèkh*, or *shèkh al-balad*.

her a halter, like an animal, he led her away and departed to the desert.

And when the man arrived at the cell of the blessed MACARIUS, the brethren who were standing by the side of the cell of the blessed MACARIUS saw him, and they wanted to keep back the husband of the woman, and strove with him, saying, "Why hast thou brought this mare into the desert?" And the man said unto them, "That she may receive mercy, and be healed." They said unto him, "What aileth her?" And he answered and said unto them, "She is a woman who hath been suddenly transformed into a mare, and behold, she hath eaten no food for three days." Then the brethren went and told the blessed MACARIUS what the matter was, and when they came to inform him, they found him standing inside [his cell] and praying for her, for God had already revealed this matter unto him, and he was praying for the woman. And the holy man MACARIUS answered and said unto his disciples, "Ye are mares which have the eyes¹ of horses; but that mare is a woman. She hath not been changed from her nature of a woman except in the sight to those who have made a mistake; and that she appeareth as a mare is only an error of the sight² of those who see her." Then the blessed man took water and blessed it, and he threw it over her head and it ran down over all her body; and the blessed man prayed, and straightway he made her to appear in the form of a woman to every man. Then he gave her some sacramental bread, and made her to eat it before every man, and then he sent her away healed with her husband; and they departed from him rejoicing and praising God. And the blessed man exhorted the woman, and said unto her, "Be not at any time remote from the church, and deprive not

¹ Read ⲉⲓ Gr. οἱ τῶν ἵππων ἔχοντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

² Read ⲉⲓ ⲁϣⲁⲗⲁⲥ.

"thyself of the Holy Mysteries, for all these things
 "have happened unto thee because for five [Page 143]
 "weeks thou didst not partake of the Offering."

Let us now speak about his other excellences, and also of his sad and stern habits of self-denial in other particulars. Now because the large numbers of people who came to be blessed by him gave him much trouble, he thought out the following plan in his mind. He dug out a passage (*or*, trench) in his cell which was about twenty measures [in width], but he made the tunnel of considerable length, [and it extended] from his cell to the distance of half a mile;¹ at the place where the passage came to an end he made above the end of it a small cave.² And when large numbers of people came to him and troubled him, he used to leave his cell secretly and pass along hidden by the tunnel and hide himself in the cave, where no one could find him. Now he used to do this whenever he wished to escape from the vain praise (*or*, glory) of the children of men. And one of his most strenuous disciples told us, saying, "As he was going from his cell to the cave "he used to recite four and twenty antiphons, and as "he was coming back four and twenty also; and when- "ever he went from his cell to the church he used to "pray four and twenty prayers during his passage "[thither], and four and twenty as he was coming back." And moreover, they say that he gave life to a dead man in order that he might convert a certain heathen who did not believe in the resurrection of the dead, and this was spoken of throughout the desert.

Once a certain unmarried man who was vexed by an evil devil was brought unto MACARIUS, being carefully fettered by two other men, and his mother had caused him to be brought unto him. Now the devil used to act upon him in the following manner. After

¹ The Greek and Latin texts speak of "half a stade."

² Read مَنَادَةٌ.

he had eaten three baskets of bread and drunk three bottles of water he used to vomit, and scatter the bread and water in the air in the form of smoky vapour, and in this wise his food and his drink were consumed in waste, even as anything [Page 144] which is cast into the fire is consumed. Now there are certain kinds of devils which are called "fiery," for there are varieties among devils even as there are among men, in will if not by nature. And inasmuch as his mother had not that wherewith to satisfy him, he used to eat his own offal and drink his own water; and his mother besought the blessed man with tears on behalf of her son, and MACARIUS took him and prayed over him, and entreated God on his behalf. And a day or two after he had healed him of his trial, the blessed man cried unto the mother of the young man, and said unto her, "How much hast thou need of for the food of one day for him?" And she said unto him, "Ten pounds of bread." Then he rebuked her and said, "Thou hast said too much." And after seven days MACARIUS made the young man so that he needed to eat three pounds [only, which was sufficient for him] to work upon and live. Now this miracle God wrought by the hand of the blessed MACARIUS, whose soul now sojourneth with the angels. I never saw this man, for he died one year before I entered the desert.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE HISTORY OF MACARIUS THE ALEXANDRIAN, THE GLORIOUS.

As for the other MACARIUS, the Alexandrian, I did see him, for he was an elder in the place which is called the "Cells," wherein I myself lived for nine years, and he lived for three years after I entered

2 Read **مضمون**.

of the various other practices of his sad, hard life. He determined [once] to vanquish sleep, and it is related that he never entered under a roof for twenty days, and that he was burnt up by the exceedingly great heat of the sun at noonday during all this time, and that during the nights he was without rest. And, as he himself told us, "Had I not quickly gone in under a roof, and slept, and rested myself, the brains in my head would have dried up, and I should have become like a drunk man. But," he would say, "I have been conquered against my will, for although the nature of the body hath been overcome I have given it what it needeth."

And again, once when he was sitting in his cell a gnat bit him in the leg and he suffered pain, and he crushed the gnat in his hand and killed it. Then straightway he despised himself [Page 146] because he had avenged himself upon the gnat, and he passed upon himself the sentence¹ that he should go to the place which is called "SCETE," that is to say, the inner desert, and sit there naked for six months. For there were many great gnats² there, and they were so savage that they could pierce the skins of pigs, and they resembled wasps; and his whole body was so eaten and swollen that a man would have thought that he had the hide of an elephant,³ and when he came [back] to his cell six months later they could only recognize from his voice that he was MACARIUS.

And again he desired greatly to go and see the garden of JANNES and JAMBRES, the magicians of Egypt, because, as he himself told us, they had obtained power, and riches, and dominion, and had built there a tomb,

¹ *نَجَسَ*, or *نَجَسَ*.

² We may, perhaps, more correctly translate *نَجَسَ* by the word "mosquitoes," or "sand-flies."

³ *I. e.*, he appeared to be suffering from elephantiasis.

and had established there great works in marble; now their tomb was ornamented with many things, and they had also placed there gold, and things of a marvellous character, and trees and plants, for the place had been made into a garden, and they had also dug a well there. Now, because MACARIUS did not know the way he observed the course of the stars, and travelled thereby; and thus he journeyed through the open desert as upon the sea. And he took with him also a bundle of thin reeds, and at the end of each mile he used to drive a reed into the ground like a rock, so that he might be able to find the way when he had to come back. And when he had journeyed for nine days, and had drawn nigh the place wherein was the tomb, the Evil One, who always wagheth war against the athletes of the Lord, gathered together all the reeds which the blessed man MACARIUS had driven into the ground, and put them under his head for a pillow whilst he was asleep and when he was about one mile from the garden, and when the blessed man woke up he found the reeds. Now it is probable that God permitted this thing to happen [Page 147] for His own glory and for the triumph of His servant, so that MACARIUS might not put his confidence in reeds, but upon God, Who by means of a pillar of cloud led the children of Israel in the desert for forty years. And MACARIUS told us, saying, "Seventy devils came forth against me "from that garden, and they flew about before our face "like ravens, and they were crying out, and groaning, "and saying, 'What seekest thou here, O MACARIUS? "what seekest thou, O monk? Why hast thou come "hither? Thou canst not stay here.' And I said unto "them, 'I only want to go in and see [the garden], and "then I will depart.' And I entered therein, and I "saw everything, and [I found] hanging over the well "an iron chain with a brass bucket, but they were "rusted through age; and the pomegranates which were "therein were dried up and burnt by the sun." And

having seen [the garden] he turned and came back in twenty days.

Now when he was coming back he lacked water, and the bread also which he had carried was finished, and he was nigh to perish, and was in great tribulation through thirst, when suddenly he saw a damsel who was arrayed in a spotless linen garment and who carried a pitcher of water wherefrom water dripped, and she was distant about half a mile from him. Then he followed her for three days, thinking that he would overtake her and drink, but he did not do so, although she seemed to him to be standing still in one place and bearing a pitcher. Then he despaired of obtaining water to drink, and he was brought very low, when suddenly there appeared unto him there a herd of buffaloes. And among them there was one which had with her a little sucking calf, and she stood still before him; and he drew nigh and sucked milk from her. And she came with him through all the desert even unto his cell and gave [Page 148] him milk to drink, and she would not let her calf suck from her in those days.

And on another occasion the brethren were digging a well in a certain place which was called THIRÔNÏN,¹ when a serpent which belonged to the class of deadly serpents bit him. Then MACARIUS took hold of the serpent with his two hands by his upper and lower lip and, grasping him tightly, tore him in twain, from his head even unto his tail, and said unto him, "Since Christ did not send thee, why didst thou dare to come [here]?" Now the blessed man had four cells in the desert: one in SCETE, in the inner desert, one in Âlibônî,² one in the "Cells", and one in Mount Nitria. [Two] of these were without windows, and in them he used to dwell in darkness during the Forty

¹ Variant *ἑρμῆς*.

² Libya(?).

And again he heard from a certain man that the monks of the Monastery of Tabenna lived stern lives of self-denial, and he took counsel with himself, and put on the garb of a young man and a husbandman, and in fifteen days he went up to the Monastery of the Broken¹ Ones by the way of the desert, and came to the Monastery of Tabenna, seeking to see the head of that monastery whose name was PACHOMIUS. Now PACHOMIUS was a man elect and perfect, and he had the gift of prophecy, but the [business] of the blessed MACARIUS [Page 149] was hidden from him. And when MACARIUS saw him, he said unto him, "Abbâ, I beseech thee to receive me into thy monastery that I may be a monk therein." PACHOMIUS said unto him, "Thou art an old man, and art not able to fast. The brethren are men who fast, and thou canst not endure their labours," and because thou art not able to do this [thou wilt] be offended, and thou wilt go forth and wilt abuse them;" and he would receive him neither the first day, nor the second day, nor any day until seven days [were passed]. But since he remained fasting

² Read **مجلس**.

throughout all these days he said unto the head of the monastery, "Abbâ, receive me. And if I do not fast 'like unto you, and toil as ye do, command them to 'cast me out;" so the head of the monastery persuaded the brethren to receive him. Now the number of the members of the brotherhood of that monastery were four hundred men, [and they are thus, even] unto this day; and they brought in MACARIUS.

And when a few days had passed, the Forty Days' Fast drew nigh, and MACARIUS saw that large numbers of the brethren kept the fast and observed the rule of the house in various ways. There were some who ate daily at eventide, and some [who fasted for some] nights, and there were also some who ate once in five days; and some stood up the whole night through, and sat down in the day time. And the blessed man MACARIUS took a large quantity of leaves of date palms, and brought them [to his cell], and he stood up in one corner thereof, and he neither touched bread or water, nor bent the knee, nor lay down, until the forty days had passed, and the days of unleavened bread had come; but each Sunday he used to eat a few moist cabbage leaves so that he might pretend to be taking food. Whensoever he went outside his cell for a needful purpose he returned straightway and stood up in his place without speaking a word unto any man; and he stood in his place and held his peace, and he used to do nothing else except pray within himself, and as he stood up he wove rope of the palm leaves. And when all the brethren saw him [Page 150] they made a tumult against the head of their monastery, and said unto him, "Whence hast thou brought upon 'us this man, who hath no body and who is incapable 'of being tired out, to judge us and to take vengeance 'upon us? [Either send him away and let him depart,] 'or know that we all will go away." Now when the head of the monastery had heard from the brethren concerning the fasting of MACARIUS and his rule of life,

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he prayed to God and entreated Him to reveal to him who this man was, and it was revealed unto him by God. Then he went and took him by his hand, and he brought him to the house of prayer to the place where the altar was stablished, and he answered and said unto him, "Come, O blessed old man, thou art MACARIUS, and thou hast hidden thyself from me. "For many years past I have earnestly desired to see thee, and now I thank thee that thou hast broken the heart of the brethren somewhat so that they may not imagine any longer that they observe their fast with excessive rigour. Go then in peace to thy place, for in no slight measure hast thou built us up, and do thou continue to pray for us;" then PACHOMIUS having persuaded him, MACARIUS departed from thence.

And MACARIUS used to say, "Every kind and variety of rule of the life of self-denial and fasting which I have desired to observe with all my heart have I kept, but there came upon me the desire that my mind should be with God in heaven [if] only for five days, and that I should be exalted above the anxious cares and thoughts of material things. And having meditated upon this thing, I shut the door of the courtyard and of the cell, and I constrained myself so that I might not give a word to [any] man. And I continued thus, and I began [to fulfil this thought] on the second day of the week, and I commanded my mind, and said unto it, 'Thou shalt not descend from heaven, for behold, there thou hast angels, and the princes of angels, and all the hosts which are in heaven, and especially the Good and Gracious God, the Lord of all. Thou shalt not come down from heaven.' And continuing thus I was sufficient for this thing for two days and two nights, and I constrained the Evil One to such a degree that he became a flame of fire and burnt up everything which I had in my cell, and at length the very mat upon which I stood [Page 151] blazed with fire, and I thought that I should be wholly

"consumed. Now when, finally, fear of the fire took hold upon me my mind came down from heaven on the third day, because I was unable to keep my mind collected in the state in which it had been, and I came down to the contemplation of the world and the things thereof. And this happened so that I might not boast."

And on another occasion I went to his cell, and I found a priest lying there by the side of the door; his whole head was consumed, and was eaten into holes by the disease which is called cancer, and the bone of his skull was shewing through. Now this man had come unto him to be healed, but MACARIUS did not wish to see him. And I myself besought the blessed man and said unto him, "I beseech thee to have mercy upon him, and to give unto him a word." Then he answered and said unto me, "He is not worthy to be healed, for [this] punishment was sent upon him from God. But if thou desirest that he shall be healed persuade him to forsake the ministration at the altar, for he used both to be minister at the altar and to commit fornication, and for this reason he was punished. Persuade him then to forsake [his ministrations], and God will heal him." And having said these things to the sick man he pledged himself and swore an oath, saying, "I will never minister at the altar again;" and afterwards MACARIUS received him, and said unto him, "Dost thou believe that God existeth?" and the priest said unto him, "Yea, master." And again MACARIUS said unto him, "Peradventure thou art able to scoff [at God]," and the priest said unto him; "Nay." Then the blessed man said unto him, "If now thou dost acknowledge¹ thy folly, and also that thy punishment was from God and that it was a fitting punishment for thy deeds, first of all confess thy transgressions." And the priest gave a promise that he would not sin

¹ Or, "know."

again, and that he would not minister at the altar, but that he would lead a life which was suited to the capacity and grade of those who were in the world; and MACARIUS laid his hand upon him, and in a few days he was made whole, and the hair grew upon his head [again], and he went to his house healed whilst I was looking at him.

And again a certain young man who had an evil devil was brought unto him, [Page 152] and he laid one hand on the head of the young man and another on his heart, and he prayed until he made the devil to rise up in the air, whereupon the young man breathed out his breath and became like a great, [empty] skin bottle; and he suddenly uttered a cry, and water flowed out from all parts of his members, and he was made whole and became as he was before the devil entered into him. Then MACARIUS anointed him with the oil of the martyrs, and commanded his father that he was not to taste flesh or wine for forty days, until he was thoroughly healed.

And again on a certain occasion certain thoughts of vain glory vexed him and urged him to go forth from his cell and to depart and heal the multitudes in Rome, and to give assistance unto those who were lying [there] sick, for the grace and might of God were inciting him greatly to heal those who were possessed of devils and to make whole those who were diseased; but although he was much disturbed in his mind [on this matter], yet he was not persuaded¹ to go, for the Evil One greatly pressed upon him in his thoughts. Finally, however, he lay down inside the door of his cell, and having set his legs (*or*, feet) on the threshold, he cried out and said, "Pull,² unclean devils, pull hard, for I will never go [thither] on my legs, and if you are able to carry me you must do so

¹ Read *ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲱⲥ*.

² Read *ⲡⲓⲗⲗⲉⲥ*.

"thus." And he took an oath to them, [*i. e.*, the brethren,] saying, "I continued to lie thus until the evening, and if ye had not lifted me up, I should 'never have moved' from my place." And when the night had come he stood up.

And again, on another occasion, when these thoughts were mounting up [in his mind] he filled with sand a basket which held two or three bushels, and lifting it on his shoulders he began to wander about [with it] in the desert. And his kinsman Theosebius the Antiochean met him, and he said unto him, "What art 'thou carrying' on thy shoulders, father? Tell me, so 'that I may carry thy load, and that thou mayest not 'toil thyself.'" And he said unto him, "I am making to 'work that which hath made me to work, for it wisheth 'to go forth from its state of rest, and it fatigueth 'me,'" and having walked about for a long time he went into his cell, [Page 153] having exhausted his body.

And one day there laid hold upon me the chills of fever, and I went and sat down, and watched him from the window (*or*, opening in the wall), in the feebleness of his old age. And I was thinking about him that he was like unto one of the brethren of old, and I began to listen unto him that I might see what he was saying, or what he was doing; now he was alone inside [his cell], and he was one hundred years old, and moreover, his teeth had fallen out by reason of his old age. And I listened unto him and to what he was saying, and he was striving with his soul and with Satan, and he was saying unto himself, "What 'dost thou wish for, O thou wicked old man? Behold, 'thou hast eaten³ oil, and thou hast drunk⁴ wine, what

¹ The Syriac form ܡܚܡܝܬܐ is manifestly incorrect.

² Read ܡܚܡܝܬܐ.

³ Read ܡܚܡܝܬܐ.

⁴ Read ܡܚܡܝܬܐ.

"more dost thou wish for? Wouldst [thou] eat his "white food?" And he was reviling himself. And moreover he said unto Satan, "I cannot conquer thee "in any wise, and thou art not able to do anything "unto me; get thee gone from me." And again he said unto himself, "How long shall I be with thee?"

And moreover, PAPHNUTIUS, the disciple of this man, related unto myself and unto the blessed EVAGRIUS, saying, "One day a female hyæna took her whelp, "which was blind, and came and knocked with her "head at the door of the court when he was sitting "therein, and she dropped the whelp at his feet. "And he took up the whelp, and prayed, and spat "in its eyes, and straightway its eyes were opened, "and it saw; and its mother gave it suck, and then "took it up and went forth. And on another day she "brought unto the blessed man a sheep-skin cloak, that "is to say, a skin which hath been stripped off a sheep; "and the blessed woman MELANIA¹ spake unto me "concerning this sheep-skin cloak, saying, 'I myself "'received this sheep-skin cloak from the hands of "'MACARIUS as a blessing'."

And PAPHNUTIUS also spake thus, "From the first "day whereon he received baptism he never spat "upon the ground, and he lived for sixty years after "his baptism."

Now in his latter days he was beardless,² and he only had a small quantity of hair upon his [upper] lip and upon his chin; [Page 154] because by reason of his excessive fasting and abstinence of his solitary life not even the hair of [his] beard would grow. I once went unto him when weariness of the ascetic life had laid hold upon me, and I said unto him, "Father, what "shall I do? For my thoughts vex me, and say unto "me, 'Thou art doing no [good], get thee gone from

¹ Read مَلَكِيَّة.

² Read مَعْفُوف.

“‘here.’” And he said unto me, “Say unto thy “thoughts, For Christ’s sake I will guard these walls.”

I have written for thee these few things out of a very large number concerning the life and deeds of the holy man MACARIUS, and concerning the solitary monks who were his companions; and everything is indeed true. I entreat all those brethren who read in this book, or who desire to take a copy therefrom, not to forget [to write] after [this section] the narrative which is found in certain of the codices at the end of the above history which relateth unto the matters of MACARIUS, as if these histories had been composed by IRÔNAMÍS (HIERONYMUS), but they must know that of a certainty that they were composed by PALLADIUS. For I have found the absolute ending of this book which belonged to the histories of the matters of MACARIUS, with an apology and a preface¹ which were composed by PALLADIUS [and addressed] to LAUSUS the Prefect, wherein he maketh known concerning all the various kinds of the diverse histories of men and of women which were composed by him; and I will prepare this apology and preface, and by the help of God I will write them down in the proper place.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN PAUL THE SIMPLE, THE DISCIPLE
OF ABBÂ ANTHONY.

Now there was a certain field labourer whose name was PAUL, who was more simple and innocent in nature than are [usually] the children of men; and he had a wife who was beautiful in her appearance and

¹ Read ܡܢܬܐܝܬܐ.

wicked in her deeds and actions, and she had wandered from him and had been committing adultery¹ for a long time. And one day, suddenly PAUL went into [his house] from the field, and he found her and another working [Page 155] impurity together; now this took place so that Divine Grace might incite² PAUL [to follow] that which was more excellent. And having [gone in and]³ seen them, he laughed chastely, and answered and said, "It is good, it is good, truly she "is not accounted mine by me. By Jesus, henceforth "I will not take her again. Get thee gone, and behold "she is thine, she and her children: and as for me, I "will go and become a monk." And saying nothing unto any man he went away a journey of eight stages, and he arrived at the cell of MÂR ANTHONY the GREAT. And having knocked at the door the blessed man MÂR ANTHONY went out, and he said unto PAUL, "What dost thou seek?" PAUL said unto him, "I seek "to become a monk." MÂR ANTHONY answered and said unto him, "[Thou art] an old man eighty years "old and it is impossible for thee to become a monk "here; but depart to the village, and work in the fields "for thy living, and give thanks unto God at the same "time that thou art not able to endure the afflictions "of the desert." And again PAUL answered and said unto him, "Whatsoever thou wilt teach me that will I "do." ANTHONY said unto him, "I have told thee that "thou art an old man, and thou canst not [do it]; but "if thou wishest to become a monk, get thee gone to "some monastic house and abide where the brethren "are many, and where they will be able to bear with "thy sickness (or, infirmity). As for me, I live by "myself alone here, and I only eat once in five days,

¹ Read ܡܬܬܝܬܝܬܐ.

² Var. ܡܬܬܝܬܝܬܐ.

³ Var. ܡܬܬܝܬܝܬܐ.

"and even then I do not satisfy [my cravings];"¹ with these and such like words did ANTHONY frighten PAUL, but as he would not be persuaded to depart ANTHONY went into [his cell] and shut the door upon himself for three days, and because of him he did not go outside his cell for three whole days, not even for his need's sake. Nevertheless PAUL did not go away; and on the fourth day when his need compelled him, Anthony opened the door and went forth. And again he said unto PAUL, "Get thee gone, O old man, why dost thou "trouble me? It is impossible for thee to stay here;" PAUL said unto him, "It is impossible for me to die in any other place except this.

And the blessed ANTHONY, [Page 156] having looked carefully and seen that he was carrying no food with him, and no bread and no water, and that he had fasted during the four days which he had remained, said within himself, "Peradventure he will escape and "die, and will plunge my soul² in tribulation"; so he accepted him and brought him into [his cell]. And because of PAUL during those days ANTHONY performed exceedingly severe ascetic labours the like of which, even in his early manhood, he had never performed. And he soaked [palm] leaves in water, and gave them unto PAUL, and said unto him, "Take these palm leaves, "and weave a mat therefrom even as do I myself." And the old man PAUL took [them] and wove them [into a mat] fifteen cubits [long] until at the ninth hour he was exhausted. And ANTHONY seeing what he had woven was angry with him, and said unto him, "Thou "hast woven [the leaves] loosely, unweave [them], and weave [them] over again properly;" and PAUL unweave what he had woven, and wove the leaves over again, but still he wove too loosely, because the leaves had

¹ *I. e.*, "and even then I never eat a full meal."

² The better reading is **نفسه**.

become twisted¹ through [the former] weaving and unweaving. Meanwhile PAUL was fasting all these days, and ANTHONY laid these hard labours upon him whilst his soul was vexed with hunger, so that he might become disgusted and depart from him.

Now when ANTHONY saw that PAUL was neither angry nor wrathful, and that he made no complaint, his mercy made itself manifest; and behold when PAUL had lived² [there another] day, he said unto him, "Dost thou wish to eat a piece of bread?" The old man PAUL said unto him, "As it pleaseth thee, father;" and this also especially shamed MÂR ANTHONY that he did not hasten in his desire to the promise of food, but that he cast all his desire upon him. Thereupon ANTHONY said unto him, "Set the table and bring bread;" and ANTHONY placed on the table four loaves, each of which was of the weight of about six ounces, and he dipped them in water because they were dry, and he placed one before himself and three before PAUL. And having placed them [there] he sang a psalm which he knew twelve [Page 157] times, and he recited twelve prayers that he might try PAUL, but PAUL prayed with him in gladness; and after the twelve prayers they sat down to eat in the late evening. Having eaten one loaf ANTHONY did not draw nigh unto the other, but the old man PAUL ate slowly and [when ANTHONY had finished] he had still some of his loaf [to eat], and ANTHONY was waiting for him to finish it. And having finished it he answered and said unto him, "Little father, wilt thou eat another loaf?" And PAUL said unto him, "If thou wilt eat another I will also; but if thou wilt not, I will not." ANTHONY saith unto him, "I have had enough, for I am a monk;" and PAUL said unto him, "I also have had enough, for I also seek to become a monk." And after these

¹ *I. e.*, stretched.

² Bedjan has ܒܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢ "the day had sunk" (*or*, declined).

things ANTHONY again stood up, and made twelve prayers, and when they had said together the psalms twelve times they slept for a little during the night, and then they sang and prayed until the morning.

And when ANTHONY saw that the old man was carrying out with gladness a rule of life similar unto his own in every respect, he said unto him, "If thou art able to bear every day passed in this wise, then stay with me." PAUL said unto him, "Although I know nothing else, yet the things which I do know I can perform easily;" and on another day ANTHONY said unto him, "Behold, thou hast become a monk." And a few months afterward when ANTHONY saw that his soul was perfect before God, and that he was simple beyond measure, and that Divine Grace was helping him, he built him a cell at a distance of about three or four miles away, and said unto him, "Behold, thou art a monk, and henceforth thou must live by thyself so that thou mayest receive the temptation of devils." Now when PAUL had lived by himself for about a year, the gift of healing and of casting out devils was given unto him. And in those times they brought unto ANTHONY a certain man who was vexed¹ by a fierce devil, and that devil [Page 158] was one of the princes of the devils, and he was so fierce that he would even revile and blaspheme the heavens. And when ANTHONY saw the man he said, "I cannot heal this man, for [over this race of princes]² neither the gift nor the power [of healing] hath been given unto me; unto PAUL it belongeth to heal this man." And ANTHONY therefore took them with him and went unto him, and said unto him, "O ABBÂ PAUL, cast out this devil from this man, so that, being made whole, he may depart to his house." Then PAUL said unto him, "And what wilt thou do?" And ANTHONY said unto

¹ Read ܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ.

² Adding, ܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ.

him, "I am not able to do it, for I have other work [to do];" and he left the man with PAUL and went [back] to his cell. Then the old man PAUL rose up and prayed a prayer with great feeling, and he began to speak unto that devil, saying, "Father ANTHONY saith, 'Go forth from this man'." And the devil answered with blasphemies, saying, "I will not go forth, 'O thou who eatest white bread;'"¹ then the old man took his shoulder-garment (*or*, skull cap), and began to smite the devil on his back and sides, saying, "I tell thee that ABBÂ ANTHONY saith, 'Get thee forth 'from him'," whereupon the devil began to curse and revile ABBÂ ANTHONY and the old man PAUL. Finally PAUL said [unto him], "Wilt thou go forth, or must I go and tell Christ, yea? Jesus? For if thou wilt not go forth I will go and tell Christ, and great woe shall come upon thee;" and again he blasphemed and said, "I will not go forth." Then was the blessed man PAUL wroth with him, and he went out from his cell; now it was the season of noon, and the heat with the Egyptians [at this time] is so fierce that it is akin to the heat of the fiery furnace of the Babylonians. And he stood upon a stone and prayed, and spake thus, "Behold, O Jesus Christ, Who wast crucified in the days of PONTIUS PILATE, I will not come down from this stone, and I will neither eat nor drink until I die unless Thou dost cast out [Page 159] that devil from this man, and dost set him free from him." And whilst these words were yet in his mouth the devil cried out by reason of his tribulation, and said, "By Hercules, by whom I am ruled, by Hercules, I am being persecuted with violence, for the simplicity of PAUL pursueth me; whither shall I go?" PAUL saith unto him, "To the uttermost depths of the abyss;" and

¹ Gr. Οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι, φαγόγηρε, λῆρε, Latin, Non exeo, detestabilis senex.

² Read ٢١.

straightway the devil went forth from the man, and he transformed himself and became like unto a mighty dragon seventy cubits long, and he wriggled along the ground and in this wise went down to the Red Sea, that might be fulfilled that which is written, "Perfect faith removeth mountains."¹ This is the triumph of PAUL who was called the "Simple" by the whole brotherhood.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN PACHOMIUS.

And there was also another man whose name was PACHOMIUS, who was seventy years old and who dwelt in the mountain which is called SCETE; unto him I once went when lustful thoughts concerning women were afflicting me, and when my mind was dark and obscured by the thoughts of lust, and by the visions and heaviness of the nights, and when I was well nigh departing from the desert, for lust laid upon me many things [hard to bear]. Now I did not reveal unto my neighbours and unto the brethren who were living with me my tribulations, and not even unto my master EVAGRIUS; but I went forth and I began to wander about in the desert, and I saw one of the old men² who had grown old in the place—now they were all perfect fathers—and after this I saw this blessed old man PACHOMIUS, and I found that he was superior to them all in his life, and deeds, and in his understanding. And I took courage to reveal unto him the strife of my mind, and he spake unto me thus: "Do not imagine that this is a strange matter in any way. "This thing hath not happened unto thee through thine

¹ St. Matthew XVII. 20.

² Var. *ἄνδρες*.

"break [their prey]—the hyaenas, both male and
 "female, came out, and they all sniffed at (*or*, smelt)
 "me, and licked my body from my head to my feet,
 "and while I was thinking that they would eat me they
 "went away from me; and there I remained the whole
 "of that night and they ate me not. And again I
 "thought that God had had compassion upon me, and
 "straightway I returned and came to my cell. And that
 "devil of lust, having forborne with me a little, returned
 "once again, and moreover he attacked me more fiercely
 "than before, and he did so with such vigour that by
 "reason of my affliction I well nigh cursed myself.
 "[Page 161] Now this devil of lust used to take the
 "form of an Ethiopian damsel whom I saw in my early
 "manhood gathering canes in the summer, and he came
 "in her form and sat upon my knees, and he used to
 "set me on fire with lust to such an extent that I
 "imagined I was having intercourse with her, and, when
 "through the burning of my heart and the madness
 "thereof I gave her the cheek, straightway she would
 "lift herself up from me, and take to flight. And
 "from the time when I touched her my hand was so
 "much¹ polluted that for the space of two hours² [after-
 "wards], whensoever I brought my hand near me I
 "was unable [to free it] from her foulness.³ But again
 "I went forth because of my affliction, and I began to
 "wander about in the desert, and I found a small asp,
 "and I took it and placed its head upon the members
 "of my body, and I squeezed the head of the asp so
 "that it might bite me and I might die, and so find
 "relief, but it bit me not. And after this I heard a
 "voice which came to my ears and said unto me,
 "'Depart, PACHOMIUS, and be strong; I have allowed
 "'thee to be overcome in order that thou mightest

¹ Adding *ܡܕܝܢܐ*.

² Reading *ܡܕܝܢܐ*.

³ *Or*, "I could not endure its foul smell."

“not imagine that thou wast a mighty man and a
 “‘man of perfection, and that thou hadst triumphed
 “‘through thine own life and deeds, but that thou
 “‘mightest know thine infirmity, and the feebleness of
 “‘thy nature, and that thou mightest not rely upon
 “‘thine asceticism but mightest confess the help of
 “‘God and cry out to Him always.’ And having heard
 “these words I returned to my cell, and I dwelt therein
 “with great boldness of heart, and I never again had
 “anxious care concerning this warfare of lust, but I
 “continued in peace for the rest of my days after this
 “warfare. ‘Now the devil of lust, seeing that I no
 “longer meditated about the matter, never again ap-
 “proached me.” With these words about the striving
 against¹ Satan the holy man PACHOMIUS confirmed me,
 and he made me strong to play the man more and
 more, and to be mighty in the warfare against the
 devil of fornication, and he dismissed me and said
 unto me, “Be strong and mighty in our Lord.”

CHAPTER XXI.

[Page 162] OF THE BLESSED MAN EṢṬAFÂNÂ (STEPHEN).

EṢṬAFÂNÂ (STEPHEN) was a man who was by race
 of the Libyans who [dwell by] the side of MARMARICA
 and MAREOTIS, and he lived there for sixty years.
 Now in another codex [the text readeth] differently,²
 thus:—There was also in the desert a certain blessed
 man whose name was EṢṬAFÂNÂ, and he was by race
 a Libyan from the border (or, side) of Marmarica, and
 he dwelt there in the desert for sixty years. And
 having attained unto the heights of a perfect rule of

¹ Reading *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ*.

² This is a remark of a careful scribe.

life, he was esteemed [by Divine Grace] worthy of the gift of discerning prudence and of the faculty of giving consolation to such an extent that whosoever drew nigh unto him, being afflicted in any way whatsoever, departed from him with joy. Now the blessed ANTHONY was acquainted with this man. And this STEPHEN continued in this life even until our own days, but I never lived with him, and I never met him, because the mountain [wherein he dwelt] was a long way off from me. The holy men AMMONIUS and EVAGRIUS, however, who went to visit him related unto me stories concerning him, and they said, "Having gone to him we found him grievously sick of a certain sore sickness which had come upon him, for a cancerous sore had broken out in the lower parts of his body; now this sore is called 'gangrene,' and we found him being cut by a certain physician. Nevertheless the holy man was working with his hands and was plaiting [palm] leaves, and he held converse with us whilst portions of his body were being cut off.¹ And he possessed the faculty of patient endurance to such a degree that it seemed as if the body of some one else was being cut instead of his own; now when his members had been shorn off like hair he continued, according to the Grace of God, to be without perception thereof. And whilst the physician was binding him up he sat still and plaited baskets with his hands, and he conversed with us rejoicing and giving thanks unto God. [Page 163] And moreover, he displayed such patient endurance whilst his member was being cut off that one might have thought that it had not been cut off at all, and he resembled altogether a man from whose body threads of hair are being plucked. Now we stood there and marvelled at this affliction, for we could not bear to see the man who had led a life of such ascetic and spiritual excellences fall

¹ Read *अप्यय*.

“into such a state of suffering that at length amputation
 “of his members was necessary. And the blessed man,
 “having perceived our thoughts and seen that it grieved
 “us, answered and said unto us, ‘O my sons, be not
 “‘ye afflicted concerning this matter, and do not lessen
 “‘your faith because of this thing, for God never per-
 “‘formeth anything whatsoever that is evil, on the
 “‘contrary He looked for a happy conclusion [to His
 “‘work]. O how many were the times when these
 “‘members were condemned to punishment! For they
 “‘merited being cut off, and it is better that they
 “‘should receive their reward here than after their
 “‘departure out of this world.’ These were the things
 “which he spake unto us, and he comforted us and
 “sent us away, saying, ‘Be not ye scandalized when ye
 “‘see trials of this kind coming upon holy men, for
 “‘by such God hath built us up and comforted us,
 “‘and hath made us to be confirmed in the laws which
 “‘are against tribulations.’” I have related these things
 in order that we may not wonder when we see the
 saints falling into tribulations.

A PREFACE¹ CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE FALLEN INTO
 THE ERRORS OF SINS.

It is very necessary, O my brethren, that we should
 also keep in memory the histories which concern the
 life and deeds of those who have tripped up and fallen
 as an excellent admonition of those who come across
 this book, (just as among the trees that were in Para-
 dise the Tree of Good and Evil was also found), so
 that if it happen that certain men lead good lives
 through the Grace and help of God, Who is wont to
 help those whose motive of soul is [directed] straight

¹ A Latin version of this paragraph will be found at the
 end of the life of Valens which is published by Rosweyde,
Vitae Patrum, p. 954, col. 2.

to the mark, they may not be exalted overmuch and have pride in their works of ascetic excellence. [Page 164] For on many occasions this very excellence itself hath been the cause of a fall when it hath not been made perfect by means of a correct motive, for it is written, "I have seen the righteous man who hath "perished in his righteousness, which also is vanity."¹

CHAPTER XXII.

OF WĀLIS (VALENS) THE PALESTINIAN.

And there was a certain man whose name was WĀLIS (VALENS), who was by race a Palestinian, and in opinions (*or*, education) a Corinthian; now the blessed PAUL ascribed to the Corinthians² as a special attribute the passion of pride and inflatedness. And having come to the desert and dwelt with us for many years, at length he arrived at such a degree of vaunting that he was laughed at by the devils; and from this state he went astray, little by little, until he was derided by them, and they became able to make him think that angels were appearing unto him. Now therefore one day, according to what they relate concerning him, as he was working in the dark at the labour of his hands, the needle wherewith he was sewing together the palm leaves fell down [on the ground], and although he searched for it he could not find it; and a devil lit a fire for him until he found it, and because of this thing he became the more proud. And at length he became so proud, and allowed such arrogant thoughts to rise up in his mind, that he despised and thought scorn of the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood

¹ Ecclesiastes VII. 15.

² I Corinthians IV.

of Christ. And moreover, it came to pass that certain men of discernment came and brought unto the church some dried fruits as a blessing,¹ and the blessed MACARIUS, our elder, received [them] and sent [them] to the brethren, that is, some to every man in his cell, and among the brethren he also sent [some] to WÂLIS (VALENS). And WÂLIS (VALENS) took the man who had been sent to bring the fruit to him, and heaped insults upon him, and smote him, saying, "Go and say 'unto MACARIUS:—I am neither inferior unto thee, nor 'am I more of a servant than art thou, that thou shouldst 'send me a blessing.'"

Now MACARIUS knew [Page 165] that he had been laid hold upon by error, and he rose up and went unto him at the turn of the day that he might persuade him, and he said unto him, "WÂLIS, WÂLIS "(VALENS, VALENS) thou hast made thyself a laughing-stock, and hast fallen into error; receive then correction;" but seeing that he was unwilling to hearken unto his admonition and reproof he left him and departed. And having become more confirmed in his pride, and having reached the summit thereof, that devil who had completely led him astray went and made unto himself a garb² wherein he resembled our REDEEMER, and he came unto him by night, together with phantoms of angels in great numbers who came along bearing lamps and wax candles, and they advanced with chariots and carriages of fire, as if that devil were CHRIST Himself. Then one of the angels came forward unto him, and said unto him, "Christ loveth 'greatly thy life and deeds, and thy boldness of speech, 'and He hath come to see thee. Get thee forth from 'thy cell, and do nothing whatsoever except such things 'as I shall tell thee. When thou seest Him afar off

¹ *I. e.*, a gift made to the church that the giver might receive a blessing.

² *Or*, "assumed a form."

"fall down and worship Him, and go back to thy cell." Now therefore when WÂLÎS (VALENS) had gone forth and seen the ranks [of phantoms] bearing lamps of fire, and Antichrist himself sitting upon a chariot of fire—now he was distant from him about a mile—he fell down and worshipped him. And WÂLÎS (VALENS) was so much injured in his mind that at the turn of the day he was sufficiently mad to come into the church, and to say before all the brotherhood who were assembled therein, "I have no need to become "a partaker in the offering, for this day I have seen "Christ Himself." Then the fathers tied him up and put iron fetters upon him for about the space of one year, and in this way they made him whole; and he was praying continually, and they humbled him and brought him down from the exalted conception¹ which he held concerning himself, by means of sundry and divers works of a lovely and humble character, and thus they rooted out from him pride, even as it is written, "Each opposing sickness must be healed by "medicines which are contrary and opposite thereto" [Page 166].

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF AHRÔN² (HERO) THE ALEXANDRIAN.

And there was also my neighbour, a man whose name was AHRÔN (HERO), who was by race an Alexandrian; now his early manhood was exceedingly glorious, and he was enlightened in his mind, and his intellect was keen, and the habits of his life were pure. This man, I say, after [performing] many labours was also seized by the passion of boasting and pridefulness,

¹ The better reading is *ἡ ἐξουσία*.

² Reading *Ἀββᾶ*.

and he wavered¹ and fell; and he evolved in his mind and imagined great things against the fathers, and he reviled also the blessed EVAGRIUS, saying, "Those who allow themselves to be persuaded [into "accepting] thy doctrine² certainly go astray and err, "for [men] require no other teacher except Christ." And he put forward and urged in witness of his words, with foolish intent, the speech from the Gospel, (which our Redeemer also spake), "Ye shall call no [man] "master³ on the earth." And his understanding became so greatly blinded that at length on him also iron fetters fell and he was fast bound, because he would neither be persuaded, nor would he receive or be a partaker of the Holy Mysteries, although he loved the truth greatly. Now, the food upon which he lived was too little, and his habits of life were immeasurably strict,⁴ for, according to what those who were continually with him used to relate, on several occasions he only partook of a meal once in three months, the participation in the Mysteries only being sufficient for him; but if it happened that he came across some wild herbs by chance [he would eat them].

Now I myself, with the blessed man, ALBÎNÎS (ALBINUS), received an experience of him when we were going to SCETE. SCETE was forty miles distant from us, and we partook of two meals and drank water three times [on the way], whilst he tasted nothing at all during his journey with us. He travelled on foot, and he was repeating [passages] from the Scriptures by heart; during the time that he went with us, he repeated [passages] from the Scriptures, and sang [Page 167] fifteen Psalms and he repeated the Beatitudes, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and [the book of] Isaiah the Prophet, and a portion of

¹ Var. مذبذب.

² Var. دلائل.

³ St. Matthew XXIII. 8.

⁴ Lat., immensae virtutis ac vitae fuit atque subtilis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 954, col. 2.

Jeremiah, and after [that] the Gospel of [Saint] Luke, and after [that] the Proverbs; and in spite of all this we were unable to overtake him as he trudged along. Now therefore this man was at length persecuted by lust as by a fire, and he was never again able to dwell in his cell, but he went to Alexandria, and by reason of his pride it happened unto him, through Divine Providence, even as it is said, "One good is rooted up by another." Nevertheless having fallen willingly into a state of indifference, he finally found redemption. Now he was present continually at the shows of the theatres and circuses, and he was never absent from the public drinking rooms of the taverns; and thus whilst he was leading this life of prodigality and drunkenness he fell and was brought to a standstill in the miry ditch of the lust of women. At length he went to one of those women who are at the head of the grade of harlots, and because of his passion with all boldness he held converse with her,¹ and these things having thus been done by him there broke out in the place of his nature a carbuncle which grew with great vigour, and his sickness waxed sore upon him for a space of six months, and his members rotted away and they had to be cut off. By these means he became finally cured, but he remained without members; and afterwards he went back again to the integrity of [his] nature, and to divine thoughts. [And he came to the desert]² and confessed all these things to the fathers, and though he remained not a long time [there] he did not flee³ from leading the ascetic life, nor from weeping because of what had happened to him, nor from offering up the repentance which was meet. And after a few days he died and departed from this world.

¹ The better reading is ܐܕ.

² Adding ܐܬܝܬ ܠܗܝܬܐ.

³ Reading ܐܬܝܬ.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF PTOLEMY THE EGYPTIAN WHO WAS IN SCETE.

And there was also another man whose name was PTOLEMY, [Page 168] and he was by race from Egypt, and he observed a rule of life which no man is able to describe, or rather it is very difficult to relate the story of his life. He dwelt away beyond Scete in that [district] which is called "KALMÎRÂ."¹ Now the place which is thus called it is impossible for a man to dwell in by reason of its ruggedness, and it was distant from the stream of water wherefrom the brethren used to draw twelve miles. Now this man PTOLEMY used to take many vessels² for water and carry [them] to a certain spot where much dew fell, and in December and January he used to collect it, for in those countries the dew-fall is abundant. And having gathered together for himself water in sponge[s] from time to time they were squeezed out by him, and the water which he had collected from the dew ran out, and this he was in the habit of doing during the fifteen years which he dwelt there. Now this man, having for much time been deprived³ of doctrine (*or*, teaching), and of the meetings with the holy fathers, and of the intercourse of edifying speech, and especially of participation in the Mysteries, went wholly astray from the straight path as if he had said, "The matters of service, that 'is to say, the Holy Mysteries, are nothing at all." And from this state he senselessly departed and went on until at length he went into Egypt and delivered himself over to prodigal and riotous living, and he

¹ The variants are, كالميرا, كالميرا, كالميرا, كالميرا, and كالميرا. Migne's Greek text speaks of a place called Κλίμαξ, *i. e.*, "Ladder," and Rosweyde's Latin calls the district "Clima."

² Reading سفن.

³ Read فقر.

never more spake a word of excellence unto any man. And his madness came upon PTOLEMY also because of the senseless^r and exalted opinion which he held of himself, even as it is written, "Those who are "not under the law of the governors shall fall like "leaves."

CHAPTER XXV.

OF ABRAHAM THE EGYPTIAN.

And there was also a certain man who was an Egyptian whose name was ABRAHAM, [Page 169] and he kept a rule of life of the sternest hardness in the desert; and he was hurt in his understanding by reason of the vain opinion which he held concerning himself. One day he came to the church and strove with the elders, saying, "I have been made an elder "by Christ during the past night, and ye must associate "me in the ministrations of the priesthood." And when the fathers had come to a decision concerning him, and had brought him out of the desert, they laid a light rule of life upon him, and in this manner they cured him of his arrogance, and brought him to the state of being sensible of his feebleness, and of having knowledge of his infirmity, through which the devils made a mock of him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF A CERTAIN VIRGIN WHO WAS IN JERUSALEM.

And moreover, I saw a certain virgin in Jerusalem who had been clothed in sackcloth for three years, and

she had secluded herself in a solitary cell, and had never permitted herself to enjoy any of the desirable things wherein there is pleasure. Now this woman, having been forsaken by the Divine Providence, because of her immeasurable pride and arrogance fell into the ditches of fornication, and she opened the window of the habitation in which she had secluded herself, and received [therein] the man who ministered unto her, and she had intercourse with him. And because she did not continue to persevere in faith and in the ascetic life with a perfect will and with a mind which possessed Divine love, but [departed therefrom] for the sake of men, that is to say, for the sake of vain glory, doing so, moreover, with an evil intent and with a corrupt and lascivious mind—for her own thoughts having been cut off, they having been robbed of the divine understanding, she came to the condition of casting blame upon others—the guardian of chastity did not remain with her.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE VIRGIN WHO WAS IN CAESAREA OF PALESTINE.¹

And again there was a certain virgin who was the daughter of an elder in Caesarea, [Page 170] and having been beguiled and led astray by a man, he who had led her astray taught her to bring an accusation against a certain reader of the church of the city. And the time having arrived when it was known [unto all] that she was with child, and being called upon by her father to confess her matter, she made an accusation against that reader. Now her father the elder, because he believed [her] implicitly, made known

¹ This story is told more fully in Chapter XXIX.

the matter unto the Bishop, and the Bishop was a holy man, and a fearer of God, and one who did not hastily pass sentence of death or punishment upon any man, and then only when it was revealed unto him by God whether he who was accused before him was indeed guilty [or not]. So the Bishop went and shut himself up until the matter was made plain [unto him]; and because God informed him that the reader had never been nigh unto the woman he held him to be innocent and condemned the virgin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF A CERTAIN WOMAN WHO FELL AND REPENTED.¹

There was a certain virgin who was a nun, and who dwelt with two other nuns, and she had led a life of abstinence and voluntary self-denial for nine or ten years, and having been beguiled and led astray by a certain singer of Psalms² she tripped, and fell, and conceived, and gave birth to a child; now she hated with the fullest hatred him that had beguiled her. [And she repented within herself with a perfect repentance],³ and she followed after repentance with such vigour that she went beyond the bounds of what was seemly, and she continued to observe fasts with such self-denial and strictness that she well nigh died of hunger. In her prayers she used to make supplication, saying, "O God, Who dost support and sustain all creation, and Who desirest not the death and "destruction of those who err and commit sin, if Thou

¹ A Latin version of this story is given by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 777, col. I.

² The better reading is *سinger of Psalms*.

³ Adding *سبحانه وتعالى*.

"wishest me to live before Thee, shew me a marvellous thing in this matter, and gather in [Page 171] this "fruit of sin which I have brought¹ forth, lest, because "I cannot again attain to chastity, I kill myself through "reproach and disgrace;" and having made supplication for this thing she was hearkened unto, and he who had been born unto her did not remain very long alive. And from the day wherein she fell and onwards she neither saw him that had beguiled her and led her captive, nor held converse with him, but she gave herself to frequent fasting and to ministering unto the women who were sick and smitten with disease for the whole of a period of thirty years; and thus her repentance was accepted by God, and He at length revealed unto a certain holy old man concerning her, saying, "Such and such a woman is very much more "pleasing unto me by her penitence than by her virginity" Now I write down these things in order that, if any man be observing a correct rule of life of any kind whatsoever which is pleasing unto God, he may take heed lest he fall, and that even if he be tripped up in a snare and fall he may not come to despair and remain in his fallen condition, but that by leaning upon the staff of the hope of the Divine Mercy, and by arraying himself through repentance in the apparel of simplicity and humility he may again become strong enough to stand up, for we should not despise those who truly repent.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF ANOTHER VIRGIN WHO FELL AND REPENTED.

A certain virgin, the daughter of an elder in Caesarea of Palestine, having been beguiled and led

¹ Read *جذبة*.

astray by a man fell, and he who had beguiled her instructed her to make an accusation against a certain reader of the church of the city. And the time having arrived when her conception became known, and being called upon to confess her matter by her father, she made the accusation against that reader, and the elder, her father, thereupon, like one who believed [her] implicitly, made the affair known to the Bishop. Then the Bishop laid hold upon the shrine¹ (?) and commanded that the reader should be called, and [Page 172] his affair having been enquired into, like one who was confident in himself he was unwilling to confess [that he had done the wrong]; for how was it possible for him to accuse himself of that which he had not done? And the Bishop becoming angry said unto him, "Wilt thou not confess, O wretched and "polluted man, thou guilty one who art full of un-"cleanness?" And the reader made answer unto him, saying, "Master, I have neither knowledge nor feeling "about this matter, for my thoughts and mind are "clean in respect thereof, and [no thought] concerning "this woman hath ever entered my mind.² But if thou "wishest to hear that which hath never taken place "[I will say that] I myself committed the offence;" and having spoken thus the Bishop straightway removed the reader from his position. Then the reader drew nigh and entreated the Bishop, saying, "Master, since "I have tripped up and fallen, give the command that "the woman be given unto me to wife, for I am no "longer a cleric and she is not a virgin;" so the Bishop gave the woman to the reader to wife, because he thought that he was held by love of her, and that he could not cut the affair concerning her out of his thoughts.

And when the reader had received the woman

¹ *بنيان*.

² Or, "this woman hath never gone up into my mind."

from the Bishop, he placed her in a religious house for women, and he begged the woman who ministered unto the wants of the sisters to take great care of her straightway. Now a short time afterwards the day arrived wherein she must give birth to her child, but the poor creature was not able to bring it to the birth, and although she could hardly bear the cruel and violent pains of her birth-pangs which were bringing her to the house of the dead, her child did not come forth. And one, two, three days passed by until the seventh [day arrived], and by reason of her great and frequent sufferings the woman was nigh to come unto Sheol; and she neither ate, nor drank, nor slept, but she was crying out and saying, "Woe unto me, for I am dying, and I made an accusation against such and such a reader." Now the women who were standing before her having heard these words made them known to her father, who, however, [Page 173] fearing lest he should be blamed severely because he had made an accusation against the reader, held his peace concerning the matter for another two days; and meanwhile the young woman neither gained relief from her sufferings nor died. Now therefore when the nuns could no longer bear the pain of her violent shrieks, they ran and told the bishop, saying, "Such and such a woman hath for some days past been crying out and confessing that she made an accusation against the reader." Then the Bishop sent deacons unto him with the message, "Pray thou that the woman who made an accusation against thee may have relief;" but the reader answered them never a word. Now he had not opened his door since the day on which the accusation had been made against him, but he entreated God and made supplication unto him that the matter might become known and the truth revealed. Thereupon the father of the woman went to the Bishop, and prayer was offered up in the church, but even by these proceedings the woman did not obtain relief.

Then the Bishop rose up¹ and went² to the reader, and knocked at the door, and the reader opened [it] to him, and he went in to him and said, "EUSTATHIUS, "rise up and unloose that which thou hast fastened." And at once the reader knelt down with the Bishop, and they prayed to God, and straightway the woman gave birth to her child. Thus were the supplication of this man and his constant persistence in prayer able to clear away oppression and to chastise and rebuke also the woman who made the false accusation, for from that day onwards she fulfilled the days of her life with good works; and we should learn to be constant in prayer and to recognize the power thereof when it is offered unto God with the deep feeling of the whole heart.³


CHAPTER XXX.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN TĒHISIYĀ (THAISIS³).

And now I desire to narrate unto you the excellent history and the great repentance of the blessed woman TĒHISIYĀ (THAISIS), for speech concerning her is most excellent, and it is full of encouragement and penitence of soul unto those who love God. Now [Page 174] this woman had a mother who, because her daughter was beautiful of face, made her to take up a position in the market, and the rumour of her beauty travelled unto every place, and those who were living afar off desired greatly to see her; and no man who looked

¹ Read Δῖτο.

² A Latin version of this story is given by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 777, col. 2.

³ A Latin version of this story is given by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 374. Thaisis = the Egyptian .

upon her was satisfied with the sight of her face, because she burned like a flame of fire into the hearts of those who saw her, and many by reason of their mad love for her sold whatever property they had to her parents¹ that they might have commerce with her. Now when BESSARION,² the servant of God, heard these things concerning this woman and that through her beauty she was dragging many to destruction, he arrayed himself in the apparel of a man who was in the world, and took with him one *dinâr* and went unto her, and when he saw her he brought forth the *dinâr* and gave it to her; and having taken the *dinâr* she said unto him, "Let us go into a room," and he said unto her, "Yea, let us go in." And having gone in, the blessed man BESSARION saw the couch which was laid out, now it was a very high one, and the woman said unto the old man, "Come, get up on this bed;" and he said unto her, "Hast thou not inside this chamber another "room?" and she said unto him, "Yea." Then he said unto her, "Let us then go in there." And Têhisiyâ answered and said unto him, "If it be that thou art "ashamed of men [seeing thee, know] that no man can "see [us] in this chamber; but if it be God of Whom thou "art afraid He can see us in whatsoever place we "enter." And the blessed man BESSARION hearing these words said unto her, "My daughter, dost thou know "that God existeth?" And she said unto him, "Yea, I "know that God existeth, and [that there will be] kingdom, "and judgment." Then the old man said unto her, "If thou knowest that God is, and [that there will be] "kingdom and judgment, why dost thou destroy men "in this manner?" And straightway the woman cast herself at [Page 175] his feet, and said unto him, "I "know that there is repentance for those who sin. But

¹ Or, "which their parents had," reading in this case
 ܡܠܚܬܐܢܝܬܐ.

² In the Latin text the monk is called Paphnutius.

"I beseech thee, master, to tarry with me for three hours, and whatsoever thou wishest do unto me that do because of all the evil things which have been wrought by me;" and having told her in what place he would await her he left her and went away.

Then in that same hour the woman took everything which she had gained by fornication and burnt it with fire in the midst of the city, and she said, "Come, O all ye who have had commerce with me, and see that I am burning before your eyes every possession which I have gathered together by means of sin;" and the things which were burned were [worth] three hundred pounds of gold, and there were there also goods and apparel of all kinds; and after she had burned up everything she went to the blessed man BESSARION. And when BESSARION saw her he took her by her hand and led her along and brought her to a religious house of sisters, and he shut her in a little cell, leaving her only one small window in the wall through which a woman passed in food to her. And the blessed BESSARION said unto the head of the house, "Give her a pound of dry bread each day, and water according to her need." Then the blessed woman TÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS) said unto the venerable BESSARION, "With what petition dost thou command me to pray unto God? 'That He should forgive me my sins?'" The blessed BESSARION said unto her, "Thou art neither worthy to pray unto God, nor to make mention of His Name with thy lips, nor to stretch out thy hands unto Him; for thy lips are unclean and polluted, and thy hands are contaminated with impurity; thou shalt only sit down and gaze towards the East, and thou shalt say nothing except, 'O Thou who didst create me, have mercy upon me.'" And having dwelt in that cell for a space of about three years, the blessed BESSARION had mercy upon her, [Page 176] and the blessed man went to ABBÂ ANTHONY that he might learn from him whether God

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had forgiven her her sins or not. Then having spoken concerning her unto ANTHONY that blessed man called unto his disciples, and said unto them, "Let each one "of you shut himself up in [his] cell all night, and pray "ye unto God that we may see unto whom shall be "revealed the matter concerning which the blessed "BESSARION hath come unto us [this day]."

And when they all had done as they had been commanded and when a long time had elapsed the blessed PAUL, the chief of the disciples of MÂR ANTHONY, looked into the heavens and saw a couch which had been spread with great splendour, and three angels who were carrying three lamps were standing before that couch, and a crown of glory was laid thereupon. And having seen all this glorious sight, he said, "This couch "can only be for my father ANTHONY." Then a voice came unto him from heaven, saying, "This couch is "not for ANTHONY, thy father, but for TÊHÎSÎYÂ (THAISIS) "the harlot;" and the blessed PAUL rose up early in the morning and related the vision which he had seen. And the blessed MÂR BESSARION came back from ABBÂ ANTHONY in great joy, and he went to the religious house of the sisterhood, and he opened the door that he might bring the woman out from the cell wherein she was secluded; but she made entreaty unto him, saying, "Leave me here until my death, for my sins are "many." Then the blessed man said unto her, "Behold, "the merciful God hath had compassion upon thee, "and He hath accepted thy repentance;" and then she wished to go forth from that cell. And she answered and said unto him, "Believe me, O father, from the day "wherein I entered this cell I have made¹ all my sins a "mighty burden and I have set it before my eyes, in "such wise that as the breath of my nostrils has not "separated itself from me, so [Page 177] my sins have "not separated themselves from me until this hour."

¹ Read جذبت.

And the blessed BESSARION answered and said unto her, "God hath not forgiven thee thy sins because of thy repentance, but because of the thought which thou hadst—that thou wouldst deliver thyself over unto Christ." Now this blessed woman TĒHISĪYĀ (THAISIS) lived (*literally*, made) after her repentance fifteen days, and she departed unto our Lord in peace. Thus was the crowning of the blessed TĒHISĪYĀ (THAISIS), who was lost and was found, who was dead and who came to life by the grace of Christ, unto Whom belong mercy, and compassion, and glory, and honour, for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE BLESSED MAN ABBÂ ELIJAH.

There was a certain man whose name was ELIJAH who loved the virgins exceedingly, for there are souls which are thus inclined, and having compassion upon the order of virgins [and] women who lived celibate lives in THEBES, and in the cities which were [round about], and in the city of ATHLIBIS,¹ and possessing many flocks and herds, he built a large nunnery, and he gathered together thereunto every woman who chose to adopt the garb of the nun, and placed them therein. And with ready will he took care to provide them with everything which was necessary for them, and he supplied everything required for their well-being, and he also made a garden for them, and he filled their every want with great zeal and care, for our Lord's sake. And inasmuch as these women were gathered together from various places, they used to

¹ Not Athribis in the Delta, but ATRÊPE near the modern Akhmîm.

quarrel with each other continually, and because it was meet to keep them in order (now he had gathered together about three hundred), he was obliged to take means to pacify them; and he hearkened unto their affairs and arranged the disputes which broke out among them for a space of two years.

Now this man being¹ young, that is to say being about thirty or forty years old, [Page 178] more or less, was vexed by the passion of lust, and for this reason he departed² from that nunnery and wandered about for two days in the desert, and he made entreaty and supplication unto God, saying, "O Lord, either kill me so that I may not see those who are in trouble and may not become afflicted thereby, or remove from me this passion, so that I may be able to provide for the women in everything." And when the eventide had come he lay down and slept in the desert and, according to what he related, three angels came to him, and took hold of him, saying, "Why didst thou go forth from the nunnery?" And he related unto them the matter and said unto them, "I was afraid lest I should do harm not only unto them, but unto mine own soul also." The angels said unto him, "If now we make thee to be free from this passion wilt thou go and take care of the women in the nunnery?" And having promised that he would do this they required from him an oath, and the oath which he uttered was as follows; the angels said, "Swear an oath unto us," and he said: "I swear by Him Who taketh care of me, that I will take care of them." Then having laid hold of him by his hands and his feet, one of them took a razor and mutilated him, not indeed in very truth but only apparently and in a phantomlike manner, and he imagined in the vision that, as one might say, he had been made

¹ Var. جڙوڪو.

² The better reading is ڇڏيو.

whole. And next they asked him, "Feelest thou that 'thou hast been helped?'" And he said unto them, "I am greatly relieved, and I feel sure that I have 'been set free from the pain and suffering, and that I 'have already been delivered therefrom." Then the angels said unto him, "Depart and return." And after five days, whilst the women who were in the nunnery were weeping because of what had taken place, and because he had forsaken them, and because the care which he had taken for their needs had come to an end, he entered into the monastery wherein they were; and dwelt there from that time onward in the cells, in a place which was nigh unto them, and according to his power he ordered their lives for them. And he lived [Page 179] other forty years, and he said unto the fathers, "This passion of lust hath never since 'roused itself up in my mind;" now this act of grace happened to that holy man because of care which he exhibited in respect of that nunnery.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE BLESSED DOROTHEUS.

Now after this man ELIJAH, the chosen man DOROTHEUS, who had grown old therein leading a life of excellent and sublime ascetic rule was there; and as he did not wish to dwell in the nunnery by the side of the women, as ELIJAH had done, he shut himself up in a certain upper chamber, but left therein a window which faced and looked into the interior of the nunnery; and when he knew that it was proper to do so he used to open it or shut it. He always sat by the window, and he shewed the women that he knew

¹ The better reading is *ἡ ἀρετὴ ἡ ἀρετὴ*.

everything which they were doing, and by these means they were rebuked and prevented from quarrelling. And thus he grew old in that upper chamber, and no women ever went up to him, and he was unable to go down to them, for there was no ladder, and in this manner of life he brought his days to an end according to the will of God by the help of His grace.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE BLESSED PACHOMIUS THE GREAT, AND OF THE SONS OF HIS MONASTERY, AND OF THE NUNNERIES WHICH WERE IN THE THEBAÏD.

In the country of THEBES, and in the district thereof which is called TĒBANSĪS (TABENNA), there was a certain blessed man whose name was PACHOMIUS, and this man led a beautiful life of ascetic excellence, and he was crowned with the love of God and of man. Now therefore as this man was sitting in his cell, there appeared unto him an angel who said unto him, "Since 'thou hast completed thy discipleship' it is unnecessary¹ 'for thee to dwell here; but come, and go and gather 'together unto thyself those who are wandering, and 'be [Page 180] thou dwelling with them, and lay thou 'down for them such laws as I shall tell unto thee;" and the angel gave him a book (*or*, tablet) wherein was written the following:—

"I. 'Let every man eat and drink whensoever he 'wisheth, and according to the strength of those who 'eat and drink impose work; and thou shalt restrain 'them neither from eating nor fasting. Furthermore, 'on those who are strong thou shalt impose severe

¹ Var. *أفلا*.

² Literally, "it is of superfluity."

"labours; and upon those who are of inferior strength, "and upon those who fast thou shalt impose light labours.

"II. 'And thou shalt make for them a cell, and they "shall dwell together three by three.

"III. 'And they shall partake of food all together in "one chamber (*or*, house).

"IV. 'And they shall not take their sleep lying "down, but thou shalt make for them seats so that "when they are sitting down they shall be able to "support their heads.

"V. 'At night time they shall put on garments "without sleeves, and their loins shall be girded up, "and they shall be provided with skull-caps;¹ and they "shall partake of the Offering on the Sabbath, and on "the First Day of the Week, wearing skull-caps with- "out any nap upon them, and each skull-cap shall have "in the front thereof a cross [worked in] purple.

"VI. 'And thou shalt establish the monks in four "and twenty grades, and to each grade give a letter "of the Greek alphabet from Âlâf to Tâw;² every grade "a letter."

And the blessed PACHOMIUS performed³ and fulfilled [these things] according as he had been commanded by the angel; and when the head of the monastery asked him that was next to him concerning the affairs of the brethren, the man said unto him, "The voice "of Alphâ [and] the voice of Bitâ⁴ salute the head "[of the monastery]." Thus the whole of that assembly of brethren had letters of the alphabet assigned to them, according to the designation of the four and twenty letters.⁵ To those who were upright and simple

¹ *Or*, coverings for the shoulders and head.

² Bedjan has *ألف إلى تاء*, *i. e.*, "from Alâfâ to Ā."

³ Read *حجج*.

⁴ *I. e.*, the voice of all the letters of the alphabet.

⁵ Rosweyde's Latin text has, "Dum igitur interrogaret sanctus Pachomius, et in tantâ multitudine singulorum requireret

he assigned the letter *yôdh* (*i. e.*, י), and to those who were difficult and perverse he assigned the letter *ksî* (*i. e.*, כ), and thus according to the dispositions and according to the habits and rules of life of the orders [of monks] did he assign letters unto them.

And he (*i. e.*, the Angel) commanded that "a monk "who was a stranger and who had a different garb "[Page 181] from theirs should not enter in with them "to the table; the man who sought to be accepted as "a monk in that monastery was obliged to labour there "for three years, after which he was to receive the "tonsure. When the monks were eating together they "were to cover up their faces with [their] head- "coverings, that they might not see each other eating, "and might not hold converse together over the table, "and might not gaze about from one side to the other." And he commanded that "during [each] day they "should repeat twelve sections of the Psalter, [and "during [each] evening twelve sections of the Psalter], "and during [each] night twelve sections of the Psalter, "and that when they came to eat they should repeat "the Great Psalm."

And the blessed Pachomius said unto the angel, "The sections of the Psalter which thou hast appointed "unto us [for repetition] are far too few;" and the angel said unto him, "The sections of the Psalter which "I have appointed [are indeed few], so that even the "monks who are small¹ may be able to fulfil the canons, "and may not be distressed thereby. For unto the "perfect no law whatsoever is laid down, because their "mind is at all seasons occupied with God, but this "law which I have laid down for those who have not

"vitam dicebat secundo ille qui erat in suo ordine prior, quem "admodum se habet Alpha, vel quo modo habet Beta? Et "iterum salutem per unumquemque ex proprio signo et vocabulo "litterae requirebat."

¹ *I. e.*, those who have not the power to become great ascetics.

"a perfect mind is laid down for them, so that although they fulfil only such things as are prescribed by the canons they can acquire openness of face. Now very many nuns hold fast unto this law and canon."

And there were living in that mountain about seven thousand brethren, and in the monastery in which the blessed PACHOMIUS himself lived there were living one thousand three hundred brethren; and besides these there were there also other monasteries, each containing about three hundred, or two hundred, or one hundred monks, who lived together; and they all toiled with their hands and lived thereby, and with whatsoever they possessed which was superfluous for them they provided (*or*, fed) the nunneries which were there. Each day those whose week of service it was rose up and attended to their work; and others attended to the cooking, and others set out the tables and laid upon them bread, and cheeses, and vessels of vinegar and water. And there were some monks who went in to partake of food at the third [Page 182] hour of the day, and others at the sixth hour, and others at the ninth hour, and others in the evening, and others who ate once a day only; and there were some who ate only once a week; and according as each one of them knew the letter which had been laid upon him, so was his work. Some worked in the paradise,¹ and some in the gardens, and some in the blacksmith's shop, and some in the baker's shop, and some in the carpenter's shop, and some in the fuller's shop, and some wove baskets and mats of palm leaves, and one was a maker of nets, and one was a maker of sandals, and one was a scribe; now all these men as they were performing their work were repeating the Psalms and the Scriptures in order.

And there were there large numbers of women who were nuns, and who closely followed this rule of

¹ *I. e.*, the orchard, or place where the trees were.

life, and they came from the other side of the river and beyond it, and there were also married women who came from the other side of the river close by; and, whensoever anyone of them died, the [other] women would bring her and lay her down on the bank of the river and go away. Then certain brethren would cross over in a boat and bring her over with the [singing of] psalms and with lighted candles, and with great ceremony and honour, and when they had brought her over they would lay her in their cemetery; without elder or deacon no man could go to that nunnery, and then only from one Sunday to the other.¹ Now it happened that a certain tailor,² who was a stranger, came to that nunnery looking for work, and one of the sisters went forth to talk with him, and she said unto him, "We have our own tailor;" and one of the sisters saw her speaking with him, and she held her peace and informed no one concerning the matter. And after a short time the two women had a dispute³ about a certain matter, and the sister who had seen the other talking to the tailor went and brought an accusation against the other before all the sisters, saying about her in an evil manner, "This is the Satan who hath sown the strife among us;" and then many of the women having heard [these things] believed [them]. And the sister, not being able to endure the accusation wherewith she had been accused without [Page 183] cause, by reason of her distress went and cast herself into the river and was drowned; [and when the sister who had made the accusation against the other perceived this, seeing that she had calumniated her evilly, and that she had caused the sisters pain in a most serious manner, she also secretly drowned

¹ *I. e.*, they might only pay the women a visit on Sundays.

² The better reading is **خياط**.

³ Read **مجادلة**.

Now in that same nunnery there was a certain sister who was a virgin, and she made herself an object of contempt, and she had had a devil in her; and the [other] sisters used to treat her so contemptuously that they would not even allow her to eat with them. And the woman herself was well content at this [treatment], and she would go into the refectory and serve the food and wait upon the whole company [there], and she became the broom¹ of the whole nunnery; and indeed she made manifest that which is written in [the Book of] the blessed Apostle,³ who said, "Whosoever wisheth to become a wise man in this world let him become a fool in order that he may become wise." And this woman used to throw over her head a roughly cut piece of cloth, whilst the other women wore veils, well cut and well made, according to the rule which they had, and in this garb she used to minister in the refectory; and they would not allow⁴ her to sit down with them at the table. And whilst she was eating they never looked at her, and she never touched a whole loaf of bread, but used to eat the broken bits and crusts [that fell] from the tables, and [she drank] the rinsings of the basins and of the hands, and they sufficed her; and she neither reviled

⁴ The better reading is **ਜਦੋਂ ਅੰਤਰਿਕਸ਼ੁ ਭਵਤੀ**.

any one of them, nor murmured, nor spoke superfluous words, though they constantly reviled her, and struck her, and thrust her away with harsh words and blows.

Now at that time the blessed ΠΑΙΤΩΡΙΜ¹ (PITERIUS), that man of wonder, appeared, and he dwelt in the region which was called Παρπόριτὸς,² and an angel appeared unto him and said, "Why holdest thou in thy mind the proud opinion that [Page 184] thou art more excellent in ascetic practices than many? If thou wishest to see a woman who is more excellent than thou go to the nunnery which is in Tabenna, and behold, thou shalt find there a woman, [with a roughly cut piece of cloth thrown over her head]³ who is far superior to thee in ascetic practices; and this woman is far more excellent than thou art, for although she ministereth as a servant to a great congregation her whole heart is set upon God, whilst as for thee, though thou dwellest here, thy mind wandereth about in many countries." And when the man who had never gone forth from his monastery had heard those things, he went quickly to the nunnery and he besought their visitor (*or*, inspector) that [he might be allowed] to see the nuns; and when he had gone inside the house they all came that they might be blessed by the blessed man ΠΙΤΩΡ (PITERIUS), but the woman who had made herself a creature of contempt did not show herself at all. Then the blessed man ΠΙΤΩΡ (PITERIUS) said unto them, "Have all the sisters come? for there is one lacking;" and they said unto him, "Master, we have one more, but she is a woman of no account, and she is in the refectory." And ΠΙΤΩΡ (PITERIUS) said unto them, "Bring her that I may see her also;" and they went to bring her, but she did not wish to come, for she felt that the matter of herself would be

¹ *I. e.*, Πιτηρούμ.

² *I. e.*, Πορφυρίτης ὄρος.

³ Adding the words *ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ*.

certainly revealed unto him. Now since she did not wish to go to the blessed man they dragged her along and brought her unto him by force, saying unto her, "MÂR PÎTÔR (PITERIUS) wisheth to see thee;" and when she had come, the blessed man looked and saw the roughly-cut piece of cloth which was thrown over her head, according to the sign which the angel had given concerning her. Then he bowed down before her, and said unto her, "Bless me, Mother," and she fell down at his feet saying unto him, "Bless thou me, master." When the sisters saw [this] they were all struck with wonder, and said unto him, "Let there be no disgrace to thee, master, for she is a creature of no account." Then the blessed man PÎTÔR (PITERIUS) answered [and] said unto them, "Ye yourselves are creatures of contempt, but this woman is your Mother and mine, and I entreat God that He will give unto me [Page 185] a portion with her in the day of judgment." Now when all the sisters heard this from the blessed man PÎTÔR (PITERIUS), they fell down at her feet, and offered unto her regret for every thing which they had been accustomed to do unto her; for some of them used to throw the rinsings of the vessels over her, and others used to buffet her, and she endured many insults from them all. So the blessed PÎTÔR (PITERIUS) prayed over them and went forth from that place. And a few days afterwards, because the blessed woman could not endure the honour and the praises of all the sisters, and the repentance which they shewed unto her, she went forth from that house altogether, but where she went and where she died no man knoweth.

AN APOLOGY, AND PREFACE, AND ADMONITION.¹

Now therefore, O my brother, it sufficeth for me that I have called to mind all these things, and that I have handed them on in writing; for this thing did not happen without [the Will of] God, because thou wast moved in thy mind to command me to make this compilation and also to hand down in writing an account of the lives and acts of the holy fathers. And, according to the command of the love of God which is in thee, I will write down also the upright lives of holy women who have prospered in the good works of patient endurance, and afterwards I will also write down the account of the stumblings of those who have fallen away from a straight rule of life through

¹ The following Preface is wanting in Lady Meux's Manuscript, and it is here supplied from Bedjan's edition; for a Latin text see Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 977.

[illegible]

the pride which seized upon them, and through the wicked and vain opinion that came upon their souls, and who were tripped up, and stumbled, and fell through their weakness and the war of the Adversary, although not of their own will, for after their fall they triumphed still more gloriously, and acquired rectitude. And I will do this for the benefit of those who are about to meet with this compilation, so that they may set the edifice of their building upon the firm ground of humility with zeal and care, and may fly from pride, and may take refuge in humility; and it shall be my object to write with extreme care concerning the humility of the holy men, and concerning their longsuffering, and concerning their patient endurance, and the questions which they asked each other, together with their answers, and the sundry and divers things which I shall be able to call to mind concerning the lives of the holy fathers. And, O thou faithful servant of Christ, having lighted upon this book with pleasure, and having derived therefrom sufficiently a demonstration of the Resurrection, and of the lives and labours of the holy fathers, and also of

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE TRIUMPHANT DEEDS AND EXPLOITS AND HISTORIES
OF HOLY WOMEN.I. OF THE VIRGIN OF ALEXANDRIA WHO HID ATHANASIUS.¹

Now therefore it is necessary for us to remember also the chosen and mighty women unto whom God also gave an equal measure of strength of will as unto men, so that they might have no cause for being feeble in the performance of the labour of ascetic excellence. I have seen large numbers of widows who were exceedingly glorious and excellent in the performance of ascetic virtues, and among the chaste virgins whom I saw in Alexandria there was one whom I estimated to be seventy years old, and all the clergy testified concerning her that when she was a young woman, about twenty years old, she possessed exceeding beauty, and she was more looked at than many women, and because of her beauty she fled lest she should become the cause of stumbling unto men. Once when the Arians were plotting against the blessed ATHANASIUS, the Archbishop of Alexandria, and were acting craftily in respect of him that they might do him harm through the prefect EUSEBIUS, and [Page 186] through the wicked men who were his partizans in the days of the Emperor CONSTANTINE² THE LESS, and were spreading abroad infamous reports about him and were accusing him of many things which were unseemly for Christians to do, ATHANASIUS fled that he might not be condemned in their wicked and corrupt hall of judgment, and he told no man, neither kinsmen, nor friends, nor ecclesiastics, nor any other men [where he was going]. And as soon as certain men from

¹ See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 974.

² *I. e.*, Constantius.

among the magistrates had entered into the episcopal palace suddenly, and begun to search for him and to enquire for him, he rose up at midnight, and took his tunic, and fled to this virgin who, being greatly astonished and struck with wonder at the matter, was moved exceedingly. And the blessed ATHANASIUS said unto her, "Because I am sought for by the ARIANS, "who are making unseemly accusations against me, and "because I do not want to spread about an unseemly "opinion of myself, and I wish not to prepare a great "punishment for those who would be condemned for "my sake and be made guilty for me, I determined to "betake myself to flight, and God gave me a revelation "this night, saying, 'There is no other person with "whom thou canst find deliverance except this virgin.'" Now therefore because of her exceedingly great joy she removed from herself and set aside all thoughts [of shame], and she became wholly [the servant] of our Lord, and she hid that holy man for the whole period of thirty years,¹ that is to say, until the death of CONSTANTINE. She used to wash his feet, and she prepared everything of which he had need, and she attended to his bodily wants,² and whatsoever he needed that she provided, and she borrowed books and brought [them] to him; and no man in Alexandria knew during that whole period of thirty years where the blessed ATHANASIUS was. And when the death of CONSTANTINE (*i. e.*, CONSTANTIUS) was announced, and ATHANASIUS also heard thereof, he rose up and came by night and he was suddenly found to be in the church, and all those who saw him marvelled as they looked carefully at him, for he was like unto a man who had risen from the grave. And he made an apology to [Page 187] those who truly loved him and spake unto them, saying, "I did not flee unto you, for

¹ The variants are "three," and "six."

² Var. *እጅ ለእጅ ለእጅ*.

"the reason that there might not be unto you an occasion for swearing [false] oaths. And moreover, because of the search and enquiry which they were sure to have made for me I fled unto that woman concerning whom no man could suspect of harm, for she is young and beautiful. And I have gained two things, my own life and hers; I have helped her in many things, and I have taken care and preserved myself."

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF PIAMON THE VIRGIN.

PIAMON was a virgin who lived all her days with her mother, and she spent¹ her nights in constant vigil, and she ate food at the time of evening, and she laboured at the [weaving of] linen; and she was held to be worthy of the gift of knowing what was going to happen before it happened. Now it happened on a time that there was in UPPER EGYPT a certain village which was fighting with another village, for the villages quarrelled with each other concerning the division of the waters [of the Nile], and they fought so violently that frequently murders were committed and men were beaten to death. And the village which was stronger than the village of this virgin rose up against it in fierce wrath, and there came against the inhabitants of her village a crowd of boastful and violent men carrying staves and spears to kill them; and the angel of the Lord appeared unto her, and revealed unto her the craft of those who were ready to fall upon them secretly. Then she sent and called the elders of the

¹ Reading *جاءت* *جاءت*.

² Read *جاءت*.

church of her village,¹ and said unto them, "Go ye forth to meet the inhabitants of that village, for behold, they are coming against you, lest peradventure ye and the village perish;" and make entreaty unto them that perhaps they may be turned aside from their daring attack [Page 188], and they may spare the village."

Now the elders of the village were afraid, and they fell down at her feet and made supplication unto her, saying, "We do not dare to go forth to meet them, for we are well acquainted with their miserable nature and their arrogance; but if thou wishest to spare the village and thine own house, do thou thyself go forth to meet them." And the virgin would not undertake to go forth, but she went up upon the roof, and stood up there in prayer the whole night long without once kneeling down, and she made bowings and entreaties unto God, saying, "O Lord,² Thou Judge of the earth, Who hast no pleasure in whatsoever is iniquitous, O my Lord, when the prayer which Thine handmaiden prayeth and her supplication reach Thee, let Thy power transfix [the enemy] in the spot wherein they are;" and straightway, on that very day, at a distance of three miles from the village they became fettered and stood still, being unable to move [from] the spot. And it was revealed unto them also that they were hindered from moving by the supplication of that woman, and thereupon they sent to the inhabitants of the village, and made peace with them and became reconciled unto them, and they also sent a message unto them, saying, "Give ye grateful thanks unto God, for it was the prayers of PIAMON which prevented us [from coming to you]."

¹ Reading *ܥܕܬܐܐܝܠܐ*.

² The words *ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ* are out of place here.

³ Read *ܡܡܠܐ*.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF THE BLESSED ÂMMANTÎLÎDÂ (EMMÂ TALÎDÂ),¹ THE OLD WOMAN OF ANTINOË.

Now in the city of ANTINOË there were twelve nunneries, and the women thereof conducted themselves according to a rule of beautiful spiritual excellence; here I saw the aged handmaiden of Christ whose name was ÂMMANTÎLÎDÂ, who had dwelt in the holy house, according to what she herself and those who were her associates told me, for eighty years. And there lived with her sixty virgins who followed the path and rule of the ascetic life in purity, and they led a life of happiness under the teaching of this good old woman, [Page 189] whom they loved, and on whom they depended; and because of the great affection which they poured out upon her, the key was never taken away from any one of them, as is customary in other religious houses for women, and through her divine doctrine she changed them into a state of incorruptibility. Now this old woman arrived at such a state of impassibility that when I entered into her presence and sat down by her side, she stretched out her hands and laid them upon my shoulders, in the boldness and freedom² which she had acquired in Christ.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE VIRGIN TÎMÎRÔN (TAOR).

Now in this nunnery there was a certain virgin whose name was TÎMÎRÔN (TAOR), who was the disciple

¹ *I. e.*, Mother Talidâ.

² Read ܬܝܡܪܝܢ.

of a certain old woman of ascetic excellence, and who had lived therein for thirty years; and she would consent to receive neither beautiful apparel, nor a veil, nor sandals, saying, "I do not require [them] for I am not "compelled to go down into the market." Every First Day of the Week the other women used to go down to the church to partake of the Offering, but this virgin used to remain by herself in the nunnery dressed in rags, and she would sit at her work at all hours. And by these means she acquired such a sagacious, wise, and ready face (*or*, appearance) that every man who was wont to abhor the sight of women would have been nigh to being snared and falling at the sight of her, had it not been that shamefacedness, which is the guardian of chastity, was ever with her, and that she ordered her gaze in a chaste manner by means of shame and fear.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF THE VIRGIN AND THE MARTYR COLLUTHUS.¹

Now there was another virgin there who was a neighbour of mine, and who dwelt near me, but whose face I had never seen, for, according to what they said about her, she had never gone down to the market [Page 190] from the day whereon she had become a nun, but had completed sixty years with the head of her nunnery. And finally, when she was about to depart from the world, the martyr, whose name² was COLLUTHUS, and who lived by the side of the nunnery, appeared unto her, and said unto her, "This "day thou art about to depart from this world unto

¹ The better reading is *ἡ ἁγία ἡ ἁγία ἡ ἁγία*.

² Read *ὁ ἁγίος*.

"thy Lord, and thou shalt see all the saints; but come "and eat a meal with us in the martyrrium." Thereupon she rose up early in the morning and arrayed herself in her apparel, and taking bread, and olives, and garden herbs in her basket, she went forth as she had done for many years; and having gone to the martyrrium, she prayed, and having watched for the space of the whole day for an opportunity when no man would be found therein, she drew nigh and cried out unto that martyr, and said unto him, "Ask a blessing on my "food, O Saint COLLUTHUS, and accompany thou me on "this my journey by thy prayers." And having eaten her food and prayed, she came back at sunset to her nunnery, and she gave unto the head thereof the Book of KĪLĪMĪS (CLEMENT) which is called "Stromata," and [containeth] a commentary (*or*, explanation) of AMOS the prophet, saying, "Give this book to the Bishop "who is in Alexandria in exile, and say unto him, "Pray for me,' for I am about to depart." And she died in the night without suffering either sickness or from pain in her head, but she rolled herself up in her garments and died.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF THE VIRGIN AND OF MAGISTRIANUS WHO FOUGHT WITH
WILD BEASTS FOR HER SAKE.

In the ancient book which was ascribed to Hippolytus, who knew the Apostles, I have found the following history written:—There was a certain woman who was of noble birth and beautiful in her face, and who came [Page 191] from the city of the Corinthians, and who continued¹ to live in a state of virginity, and

¹ Read *ἀποστειναι*.

certain people laid an accusation against her before the governor, who was a heathen, at the time of the persecution [of the Christians], and calumniated her, saying, "She hath abused the Government and the Emperors, 'she hath uttered blasphemies against the gods,' she 'hath treated the sacrifices with contempt;'" such were the lying words which the wicked men concocted [about her], because they had been led captive by her beauty. Now because the governor was more addicted than they all to lasciviousness, he accepted such calumnies as those, and he became mad with desire like lustful stallions, even as it is written, "He was 'inflamed by lust.'" And having tried to seduce her by means of cunning schemes of every kind, and being unable to do so, he became furious with her and handed her over to be punished, not by means of stripes and scourgings, but he wanted to make her earn her living by fornication; and he commanded the man unto whom he had delivered her to collect daily from the money which should be paid to her for hire three darics and to bring them to him; and this man, in order that he might not make use of the command in any sluggish manner, and that he might not lose money and also make the governor exceedingly angry, set her up as a gift before all those who wished [to have her]. Now, therefore, when those who were as keen in their lust for the maiden as are hawks for a snared sparrow perceived those things, they thronged into the tavern² of destruction, and having given money unto the man to whom the virgin had been delivered, they drew nigh unto her and spoke unto her such things as [they thought] would be helpful to their intentions. But the virgin, who was wise among women, urged them on with blandishments in a gladsome manner, and strengthened her mind in the hope of

¹ Literally, "the idols."

² Read *مقهة*.

Him for Whom she had guarded her virginity, and she made petitions unto them, saying, "I have a hidden "sore in a certain place, and the smell of its running "is exceedingly strong; and I am afraid that after ye "have embraced me it will bring¹ you to hate me and "that your souls will loathe me. I therefore beseech "you to wait a few days until I am well again, and "[then] ye shall have the power to do whatsoever ye "like with me for nothing."

And having with such like words [Page 192] dismissed them, she offered up unto God during those days with her whole heart prayers, and supplications, and bowings to the ground that he would help her, and that she might be saved and delivered from such hateful destruction as this, and that she might be kept in a state of unsullied virginity. Then God seeing her chastity sent a fervent longing [for her] into a certain young man [called] MAGISTRIANUS, who was wholly excellent, both in mind and in body, and it burned like fire even unto death; and he went as it were in lustful passion, and at the time of evening he entered the house of the man who had been commanded to receive the money, and he gave him five darics, and said unto him, "Let me be with the virgin this night;" and he permitted him to be with her. Then having gone into the place which was her sleeping room, he said unto her, "Rise up and save thyself;" and having stripped off her apparel, and dressed her in his own clothes, and covered her with his cloak, and completed her attire after the manner of that of a man, he said unto her, "Muffle up thy head in the hood of the cloak, "and go forth," and having done this she signed herself with the sign of the Cross and went forth. And at the turn of the day the fraud became known, and MAGISTRIANUS was delivered up and was cast to the beasts. Thus was the evil Devil put to shame because

¹ The better reading is *لنجم*.

that martyr, who is worthy of admiration, was able to crown himself with the two crowns of a double martyrdom, one on behalf of himself, and one on behalf of that blessed woman.

CHAPTER XL.

OF THE HOLY WOMAN MELANIA THE GREAT.

MELANIA, the holy woman who is worthy of all blessings, was of Spanish origin,¹ and she grew up in Rome, for she was the daughter of MARCELLINUS, a man who had held consular rank;² now her husband was a man who performed a large number of duties under the Government, and she became a widow when she was twenty-two years [Page 193] old. Now this woman, having been held worthy to be seized upon by divine love, revealed the matter to no man, for she would not have been permitted to perform her own will because she lived in the time of the rule of VALENS; and having arranged that he should be named the procurator of her son's affairs, she took everything which she possessed, which could be easily moved and carried off, and placed it in a ship with tried servants, both men and women, and sailed hastily to Alexandria, where she sold her property and changed it into gold. And she went into the mount of Nitria and saw the Fathers, that is to say, PAMBÔ, and ARSENIUS, and SERAPION the Great, and PAPHNUTIUS of Scete, and ISIDORE the Confessor and Bishop of Hermopolis, and DIOSCURUS; and she remained with them for half a year, and she went round about through all that desert, and saw all the holy men and was blessed by them.

¹ Var. سپانیة

² ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων.

And when AGÔSTALÎÔS [AUGUSTUS], who was in Alexandria, sent into exile to Palestine and Caesarea ISIDORE, and PISÎMÔS [PISSIMIUS], and ADELPHIUS, and PISÂNÎS, and PAPHNUTIUS, and PAMBÔ, now with these also was AMMONIUS, that is to say, twelve¹ holy Bishops, this blessed woman clave to them, and she ministered unto them of her own possessions. And when the servants whom she used to send unto them were stopped, this brave woman (according to what the holy men PISÂNÎS, and PAPHNUTIUS, and ISIDORE, and AMMONIUS related unto me, for I used to hold converse with them,) used to clothe herself in the garment of one of her servants, and carry unto them late in the evening the food which they needed.

Now when the governor of Palestine learned this thing, wishing to fill his purse, and hoping and expecting to make profit by her, he seized her and cast her into prison, being unaware that she was a woman of noble rank [Page 194]. Then she sent unto him a message, saying, "I am the daughter of such "and such a man, [and the wife of such and such a "man], and I am the handmaiden of Christ. Do not "treat lightly my poor garb and estate, for I have the "power to exalt myself if it pleaseth me to do so, "and thou hast no authority either to hamper me in "this fashion or to carry off any of my property. "Now, in order that thou mayest not dare to do any- "thing in ignorance and so fall under condemnation, "behold, I send thee [this] message; for it is meet that "towards senseless and foolish men we should act in "a masterful manner, and with pride, even as our noble "rank enableth us to do, and should treat them as fools "and men of no understanding." And when the governor learned this thing he apologised to MELANIA, and entreated her to forgive him, and he fell down and did homage unto her and gave orders that she should

¹ Some of the names of the twelve are omitted.

have the power to visit holy men without hindrance.

And after the return of these blessed men from exile, this holy woman built a house in Jerusalem, wherein she dwelt for twenty-seven years, and wherein she had a congregation of sisters, who were in number about fifty; and moreover, the honourable nobleman RUFINUS, who came from Italy and belonged to the city of Eklōniyâ [Aquileia], clave unto her her whole life long, and he led a life of glorious works, and finally he was held to be worthy of the office of elder. Now among men one would not quickly find one who was more understanding, and gracious, and pleasant than he. And RUFINUS and MELANIA during the whole of that period of twenty-seven years received and relieved at their own expense all those people who came unto Jerusalem to pray, Bishops, and dwellers in monasteries, and virgins, and they edified and benefited all those who thronged to them. Now they healed¹ the schism of the PÔLÎNESTÊ [PAULINISTS], who were in number about four hundred monks, and they all were heretics who fought against the Holy Spirit; and having made entreaty unto them they turned them back unto union with the Church. And they loaded with their [Page 195] gifts all the clergy who were in the cities, and they provided with food all those who were strangers and needy [therein]. In this manner they ended their lives, and they never became a stumbling-block unto [any] man. Now as concerning the possessions of which she stripped herself and the things (*i. e.*, money) which she distributed, being hot as fire with divine zeal, and blazing like a flame with the love of Christ, I alone am not able to recount, for it belongeth also unto those who dwell in the country of the PERSIANS [to declare it]; for there was no man who was deprived of her alms and gifts

¹ ܡܠܝܬܐ is clearly a misreading; B has ܡܠܝܬܐ "they united."

[whether he came from the] east, or the west, or the north, or the south. She lived in exile for thirty-seven years, and her possessions sufficed for her to give alms to churches, and to religious houses, and to strangers, and to those who were in prison. And meanwhile her relatives and her kinsfolk were sending [money] unto her continually, and her own son, and those who had charge of her property also sent some of their own money unto her; and she never lacked anything, and during the whole of the time in which she was in exile she never consented to the acquisition of a span of land.¹ And she was never drawn to long for her son, and the love for her only child neither parted her nor divided her from the love of Christ, but through her prayers her son attained unto perfect discipline and unto the ways and habits of excellence; and he became the son-in-law of honourable and noble people, and there also came upon him² much power and divers positions of great honour; now he had two children, one boy and one girl.

Now after a long period of time had elapsed, when she heard that the daughter of her son and her husband wished to be sanctified, and fearing lest they should fall into the hand of the heretics who would sow in them evil doctrines, and lest they should grow up in a life of dissolute luxury, that old woman, who was then sixty years old, embarked once again in a ship, and sailed from Caesarea, and after twenty days arrived in Rome. And whilst she was there she converted and made to become a Christian a man called APRÔ-NIYÂ [APRONIANUS], who was of exceedingly high rank [Page 196] and was also a pagan; and she moreover persuaded him by means of most perfect admonition and exhortation to become sanctified, and also his wife, who was her own sister and whose name was ABHTIYÂ

¹ Read ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ.

² Read, with B, ܡܠܟܐ.

[AVITA], to receive the garb of the followers of the ascetic life, and to become prosperous in all patience in the labours of the life of abstinence and self-denial. And she also strengthened¹ by means of her excellent counsels the daughter of her son whose name was MELANIA, and her husband whose name was PANYÂNÔS (PINIANUS), and she also converted her daughter-in-law whose name was ALMÎNÂ (ALBINA); and she persuaded all these to sell everything which they possessed and to give [the money] to the poor; and she brought them out from Rome, and led them into the quiet and peaceful haven of the life and labours of asceticism.

And she contended with all the women of senatorial rank and with the women of high degree, and strove with them as with savage wild beasts, for the men tried to restrain her from making the women do even as she had done, that is to say, to prevent her from converting them and making them to forsake their worldly rank and position. And she spake unto them thus, "My children, four hundred years ago it was "written that that time was the last time."² Why do "ye hold fast thus strenuously to the vain love of the "world? Take ye heed lest the day of Antichrist over- "take you, and keep not fast hold upon your own "riches and the possessions of your fathers;" and having set free all these she brought them to the life of the ascetic and recluse. As for her son PÔPLÎKÔS (PUBLICOLA), who was a child, she converted [him] and brought [him] to Sikiliâ (Sicily); and she sold the whole of the residue of her possessions and taking the price [thereof] came to Jerusalem, and, having distributed it in a wise fashion and arranged all her other affairs, after forty days she died at a good old age, being crowned with an abundance of gratification and happiness; and she left in

¹ Read, with B, ~~ἐξίστη~~.

² *I. e.*, that the last hour had come. See 1 John II. 18.

Now therefore when all those who clave unto her had gone forth from Rome the great barbarian whirlwind, [Page 197] which had also been mentioned in ancient prophecies,¹ came upon the city, and it did not leave behind it even the statues of brass which were in the market-places, for it destroyed by its barbaric insolence everything whatsoever; and it so thoroughly committed everything to destruction that the city of Rome, which had been crowned and adorned for twelve hundred years with edifices and buildings of beauty, became a waste place. Then those, who without contention had been converted by means of her admonition, ascribed glory unto God Who, by means of a change in temporal affairs, had persuaded those who did not believe her; for whilst the houses of all the latter were plundered the houses of those only who had been persuaded by her were delivered, and they became perfect burnt-offerings unto the Lord, through the care and solicitude of the blessed woman MELANIA. And it happened by chance that I and they once travelled together from ÎLIÔS (ÆLIA)² to Egypt, and we were accompanying on our journey the gentle virgin SYLVANIA, the sister of RUFINUS, a man of consular rank, and YÔBANYÂNÔS (JUBINUS) was also with us; now he was at that time a deacon, but subsequently he became bishop in the Church of God of the city of Askelon, and he was a God-fearing man, and was exceedingly well versed in doctrine. And it came to pass that a fierce and fiery heat overtook us on the way, and we came into Pilisôn (Pelusium) that we might rest therein; and JUBINUS, who is worthy of admiration, came by chance upon a trough for washing, and he began to wash his hands and his feet in a little water

² See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 971, col. 2.

and of other [writers], more than two hundred and fifty thousand sayings;¹ and she did not read them in an ordinary fashion or just as she came² to them, and she did not hurry³ over them in an easy and pleasant manner, but with great labour and with understanding she used to read each book seven or eight times. And because of this she was enabled, being set free from lying doctrine, to fly by means of the gift of learning (*or*, doctrine) to great opinions, and she made herself a spiritual bird, and in this wise was taken up to Christ her Lord. And may He in His mercy grant unto us through her prayers the power to act mightily, even as she did, and may we see her with all the saints who love Him, and with them may we lift up praise to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN MELANIA THE YOUNGER.

Now inasmuch as I have already promised above to relate the history of [Page 199] MELANIA THE YOUNGER it is meet that I should pay [my] obligation, for it is not just that I should consign to oblivion a young woman who, though so very young in her years, by reason of her indefatigable zeal and knowledge was very much wiser than the old women, or that I should omit to make manifest by words the history of one who though a girl in stature was old in the mind of the fear of God. Now therefore the parents of this maiden drew her by force into marriage, and they united her unto

¹ Literally, "twenty-five myriads."

² Read *ἔλθῃ*.

³ The better reading is *ῥᾶπ*.

one of the nobles of Rome, but she kept in mind continually the words which had been spoken unto her by her aged¹ [relative], and kept herself as was fitting, and became strengthened especially in the fear of God. And she had two sons, and as both of them died she came to be possessed of such a hatred of marriage that she said unto her husband, whose name was PENYANÉ (PINIANUS), the son of SEBHWARÉ (SEVERUS), a man of consular rank, "If thou wishest to live with me a life of purity I will regard thee as the husband and lord of my life; but if, inasmuch as thou art a young man, this is too hard for thee, take everything which I have and leave only free to me my own body, for in this way I shall be able to fulfil my desire which is in God, and I shall become the heir of the excellences of that woman after whose name I have been called. For if God desired me to lead the life of this world He would never have taken away the children to whom I gave birth."

And when they had been for a long time debating the matter, at length God had mercy upon that young man, and He placed in him the zeal of the fear of God to such a degree that he also sought to be excused from all the material things of this world, and thus was fulfilled the word which had been spoken by the Apostle,² saying, "How knowest thou, O woman, whether thou shalt give life to thy husband [or not]? Or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt give life to thy wife [or not]?" Now when she was married to her husband she was about twelve [or, thirteen] years old, and she lived with him for seven years, for she was twenty years of age when she withdrew from the world [Page 200]. First of all she bestowed all her raiment of silk upon the holy altars, which also did OLYMPIAS, the handmaiden of Christ,

¹ The better reading is *ἐλπίς*.

² 1 Corinthians VII. 16.

and the remainder of her apparel of silk she cut up, and made it suitable for the service of the church in other ways. Her silver and gold she entrusted to an elder whose name was PÂULÊ (PAUL), who was a monk from Dalmatia, and she sent it by sea to the countries of the East, I mean to Egypt and to the Thebaïd, to the amount of ten thousand darics; and she sent in this manner ten thousand darics to Antioch, and to the countries which were nigh thereunto, but to Palestine she sent fifteen thousand darics. To the churches which were in the islands, and to the people who were in exile she sent ten thousand darics, and to those who were in the West, I mean in the churches, and in the monasteries there, and the houses for the reception of strangers, and to all those who were in want she distributed [her gifts] with her own hands. And I speak as before God [when I say] that she must have given away four times these [amounts besides], and that she snatched away [her money] from ÊLÔRÎ-KHÔS (ALARICUS) her confidential servant¹ as from the mouth of a lion. Of those who wished to be free among her servants she gave freedom to about eight thousand in number, and on the remainder who had no wish to have their freedom, and who preferred rather to remain in the service of her brother, she bestowed three thousand darics.² All the villages which she had in Spain,³ and in KÂTÔNÎYÂ (AQUITANIA), and in the Island of TÂRÊÔS (TARRAGON), and GÂLÂTÎYÂ (GAUL) she sold, as well as those which she had in SÎLÎKÎYÂ (SICILY), and in CAMPANIA, and in AFRICA, and received [the proceeds thereof] in her own hands, so

[illegible]

² B has “three darics apiece” **١٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠ ١٠٠٠**.

³ ἐν ταῖς Σπανίαις, καὶ Ἀκυτανίᾳ, καὶ Ταβακωνησίᾳ, καὶ Γαλλίαις.

that she might give them to the monasteries, and churches, and all those who were in want. Such was the wisdom of MELANIA, this lover of Christ, and such was the mature and divine opinion which she adopted in respect of the weighty burden of these riches.

And her manner of life was thus. She herself ate once a day, though at the beginning she ate once in five days, and the young women whom she had converted and who lived with her [Page 201] she commanded to partake of food every day. And there lived with her also the mother of ALBÎNÂ, who observed the same rule of life, and who distributed her possessions among the needy after the manner of MELANIA; and sometimes they dwelt in the plains of SÎLÎKÎYÂ (SICILY), and some times in the plains of Campania, and they had with them fifteen men who were eunuchs, and a proportionate number of virgins who ministered as servants.

And PENYÂÔS (PINIANUS), who had once been her husband, was now one who helped in the work of ascetic excellence, and was her associate, and he dwelt with three hundred men who were monks and read the Holy Scriptures, and he enjoyed himself in the garden (*or*, paradise), and conversed with the people. Now these men who were with him helped and relieved us in no slight degree, and we were very many in number, when we were going on our way to Rome on behalf of the blessed man JOHN the BISHOP, for they received us with the greatest good will and they supplied us with provisions for the way in great abundance, and they sent us on our way in joy and gladness.

And their kinsman, whose name was PEKÎÔS¹ (PAMMACHIUS), a man of consular rank, withdrew from the world as did they, and he lived a life which was pleasing unto God, and during his lifetime he distributed his possessions among the needy, and left them [to them]

¹ Παμμάχιος ἀπὸ ἀνθυπάτων.

after his death; and thus he departed unto our Lord. In like manner the man MACARIUS, of BICARIA (?),¹ and CONSTANTINUS, who was the assessor to the prefects in Italy (now they were well known men and men who merit mention), arrived at the highest pitch of ascetic excellence which I describe even as it is; and they abide in the body at this present and lead a life of glorious and divine deeds, and are awaiting the perfect life which is full of happiness.

CHAPTER XLII.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN OLYMPIAS.

Now the holy and chaste woman OLYMPIAS, whilst journeying in the footsteps of this woman MELANIA, [Page 202] was emulating her in the excellence of her divine life and labours, and she was seized with the fervent desire of travelling in the path which leadeth to heaven, and in every respect she made herself to cling close to the mind of the Divine Books. This woman was in the flesh the daughter of COUNT SELEUCUS, but, if we say what is true, in the spirit she was the daughter of God. Now she was the daughter of the son of EBHLĒBHĪS [ABLAVIUS], a man who had held consular rank in Constantinople, and she was for a few days the daughter-in-law of NEBHROD [NEBRIDIUS], the sub-prefect of Constantinople, but in truth she was not the wife of the man, for they say concerning her that she died in purity and in her virginity, and that she only lived according to the Divine Word in chastity, wherein was mingled true humility, and that she made herself a friend of and ministered unto all those who were needy. Now her abundant riches sufficed for this

¹ ἀπὸ Βικαρίας. The Latin text has "ex vicariis fecit."

work, and it is impossible to reckon up that which she used to distribute to everyone with a sincere intent; for there is not a city, or a district, or a desert place, or an island, or a shore which hath been deprived of the gifts of this glorious woman. And she gave gifts also to the churches for their maintenance, and to the houses wherein strangers were received, and also to the prisons and, moreover, to those who were in exile, and, so to speak, on the whole world this blessed woman scattered her alms broadcast. And she leaped upon and ascended the uppermost part of the lofty mountain of humility, wherein nothing whatsoever was to be seen of the acts and deeds of vain glory, nor of deceitful action (*or*, appearance), but the life of simplicity, and the common garb, and the emaciated body, and the submissive mind, and the understanding which is without arrogance, and the lowly heart, and the watching of vigil, and the spirit which is without anxious care, and the love which hath no limit, and friendship without end, and the holding in contempt the operation of the feelings, and the restraint from everything [harmful], and the mind which is simple towards God, and the hope which never faileth, and the loving kindness which is unspeakable, and the thoughtful care of [Page 203] all poor folk.

Now this woman suffered many temptations through the agency of that evil devil, who loveth hateful things and who hath never had experience of things which are good, and she endured great contendings for the sake of the Name of Christ. And she gave herself unto tears which were without measure both by day and by night, and she submitted herself unto all sorts and conditions of the children of men for the sake of God, and she bowed down¹ reverently before the holy Bishops, and she paid homage to the elders, and she entreated in an honourable manner the clergy, as well

¹ Reading, with B *ἡμεῖς ὑποκύνομεν*.

as the orders of monks who dwelt in the monastic houses, and she received with welcome the virgins, and she visited the widows, and she reared the orphans, she strengthened [those who were in a state of] old age, and she had care for the sick, and she mourned with the sinners, and she led the erring into the right path, and she tended everyone,¹ and she converted many women among those who did not believe, and prepared them for life. She left behind her to the world a beautiful remembrance, and she changed the slavery into freedom of all the members of her household, who were about a myriad in number, and she shewed unto them honour in the same degree as to her noble family; and if, as is right, we must tell the truth, she made them to become of more account than herself.

It was impossible for any man to see apparel worse than hers on anyone, for the garments of this brave woman were not as good as those of the people who cover themselves with the oldest rags; and the food which she offered to her body was of such an inferior class that on account of its poorness it was rejected even by her servants. By this woman, who was clothed in Christ, no blame was ever found in anyone, not even in her neighbours, all through her life—which was not a life—by reason of the repentance and in the vehement tears wherewith she burned; one may perchance see a fountain which, owing to the violence of the heat, has dried up, but no man ever saw the eyes of this woman, which were fixed upon Christ, lacking tears. But of what use is it for [Page 204] us² to tell and to devote myself so strenuously to narrate [things] concerning her? For the contendings of this woman, who was perfect in excellence, were so exceedingly numerous that they were more in number

¹ Reading with Bedjan ⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲁⲓ.

² B reads ⲁ "me."

than those which were declared concerning her, and men would only imagine concerning me that I was narrating from hearsay great things which were not true about this woman OLYMPIAS, who became a vessel of honour of the Divine Spirit, and who was above [all] passions. Nevertheless I was a spectator of her excellence and of her angelic acts and deeds, and I was, as it were, a member of her household, and her kinsman in the Spirit, and she made, by my counsel, [gifts] unto many from her possessions. And this woman, who never thought about the things which were in the flesh, suffered¹ many vain calumnies for the sake of the truth, and those who were living in Divine fear in Constantinople rightly deemed that she should be numbered with the confessors, because even unto the death she persisted in striving for righteousness' sake, and in [performing her works] she received perfection, and she waited hopefully for the never-withering crown, which was full of all blessings in the everlasting mansions on high, with all the saints who were like unto her, and she sought after the reward of her good deeds with freedom (*or*, boldness) of speech.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN CANDIDA.

And after the manner of the blessed woman CANDIDA, the daughter of the blessed man TRĀYĀNĀ [TRAJAN],² the general, also laboured, and she arrived at the perfection of ascetic excellence; and she offered unto the Bishops, who were the ministers of the Mysteries of Christ, the homage which was meet for them, and

¹ Literally, "received."

² B adds *ἡ*.

she provided suitably for the performance of all the service of the church, and supplied the clergy with gifts, unto each man according to his grade. She converted her daughter and placed her in the ranks of the virgins, and she offered unto God this gift of the fruit of her womb, and sent [her] before her, and finally she herself also became like unto her daughter in the chastity of her purity, and she distributed her wealth among the poor and needy. [Page 205] And I know that night after night this brave woman used to rise up [from her bed] and grind corn, and heat the oven, and make bread for the Offering, and bake it with her own hands, and she was wont to say that she did this in order to reduce the strength of her body, for, she added, "Because I am unable to receive any benefit from fasting I have taken upon myself this labour for watching, so that I may do away with the greedy appetite of Esau." Now she separated herself from every kind [of meat] wherein there is blood, fish alone excepted, and she made use of oil and vegetables, but these only on festival days; and on all other days she used to live upon dry bread dipped in vinegar, and it sufficed her. And she awaited with hope the Resurrection which was to be full of happiness, in return for these stern labours, and she hoped to enjoy the everlasting delights which God hath prepared for those who love him.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN GELASIA.

And GELASIA, the daughter of a man of the rank of tribune, desired earnestly to follow in the fear of God after this woman whose life and deeds were glorious, and her excellence consisted in never allowing the sun

to go down upon her wrath¹ against man, neither against her servants nor against [any] other man; and this blessed woman fled from the path of men of wrath which leadeth unto everlasting death.

CHAPTER XLV.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN JULIANA.

And again there was a certain virgin, whose name was JULIANA, in Cesaraea of Cappadocia, and it was said concerning her that she was a believing woman, and a woman of understanding, and that in the time of the persecution when the writer EWÂRGENÎS [ORIGEN] was fleeing from the heathen she received [him] and hid him [in her house] for two years; and she fed and kept him [Page 206] at her own expense, and made him to be satisfied and content with her ministration. Now I have found these things set down in a certain book which was in the handwriting of EWÂRGENÎS [ORIGEN] himself, and I found this book in the possession of the excellent virgin JULIANA in Cesaraea who had hidden it, and who used to say that she had received it from SÛMÂKHÔS (SYMMACHUS), the expositor of the Jews. And I have not set down in writing [the story of] the excellences of these glorious women for any ordinary purpose, but that we may learn that by every means whatsoever we may, if we wish, find sundry and divers occasions for [obtaining spiritual] advantage.

¹ Read, with B, ܩܪܝܬܐ.

CHAPTER XLVI.

OF HERONION AND HIS WIFE [BOSPHORIA].

In Ancyra, a city of Galatia, I met a man whose name was HERONION, an "APÔKÔMÂTÔS,"¹ and an enlightened man, and his wife whose name was BÔSPÔRÎYÂ (*i. e.*, BOSPHORIA²), and of their mode of living and acts I experienced an example. Now these folk had such a firm³ hope in the happiness (*or*, good things) which were to come, that they neglected even their children, for they awaited with hope the actual [fulfilment] of the things to come, and they distributed⁴ among the poor and needy the income which they derived from their villages, notwithstanding the fact that they had four male and two female children. To these [children] they never gave anything whatsoever, except to the daughters who had married husbands. And finally, they used to say, "After we are dead every-thing will be yours, but during our lifetime the income "which we derive from our villages we shall take [for "ourselves];" now they used to divide their moneys among the churches, and monasteries, and houses for the receiving of strangers (*or*, hospitals?), and among the poor and needy. And besides these things they [Page 207] performed the following act of excellence. There was a great famine, and every man shut up (*or*, restrained) his mercy,⁵ but these folk opened the store-houses which they had in their villages and gave [food] to eat to those who were famished, and through this act the heretics who were living in that country

¹ "Clarissimum quendam nomine Excomitem una cum Bosphoriâ."

² Var. "Dosphoria."

³ Read *πίστεω*.

⁴ *Or*, "they spent."

⁵ *I. e.*, withheld his customary gifts.

were changed and were turned unto the [true] knowledge [when they saw their unspeakable loving-kindness; and they gave praise unto God for the simplicity of their faith. And other examples of their excellence were the following:—The modest garb, common and simple apparel, food eaten but rarely, and then only in such quantity as was sufficient [to maintain] life; and they lived meanwhile in a state of chastity which was acceptable unto God. They dwelt in the fields several days [at a time], loving a life of silent contemplation, and they fled from the tumult of cities and from the evils which are begotten of them, lest when they were living among a crowd of people something might come upon them to disturb them, and they might fall from the[ir] divine state of mind. For this reason these blessed men were doing all these excellent things, because that with the eyes of the understanding they had already looked upon the good things which had been for ever prepared¹ for them.

CHAPTER XLVII.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN MÂGHANÂ (or, MAGNÂ).

In this city of Ancyra there were also many other virgins who led lives of ascetic excellence, and they were two thousand, or more, in number; and they kept themselves in restraint and served God with great humility. And among them were also famous women who triumphed with glorious strenuousness in the contending of the fear of God, and of those was MÂGHANÂ (MAGNÂ), the chaste and proved wife; now I know not whether I ought to describe her as a virgin or as a widow, for this woman, owing to the pressure which

¹ Read ذمیت.

was put upon her by her mother, was yoked unto a husband. But [Page 208] she used to make pretences to her husband in diverse ways, and she avoided his embraces by urging the bodily sickness which she had on her as an excuse, and thus she was, according to what the members of her household said, preserved spotless from him. Now after a short time the man died, and he left everything which he had unto her alone, and she exchanged the things of time for those which were everlasting, and she offered herself wholly to God and devoted herself unto the things which belonged unto the life which is to come; and thus she lived a life in the great chastity of the fear of God, and even the Bishops were put to shame by the sight of her. Now the rest of the building¹ she made perfect in the furnace of the love of voluntary poverty, and whatsoever there remained unto her she gave, as it is written, gladly unto the churches, and monasteries, and houses for receiving poor strangers, and unto the orphans and widows; and she abode continually in the church, and served God, and awaited the hope which was to come.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

OF THE MONK [MISERICORS] WHO LIVED IN ANCYRA.

And moreover, we found in this city a certain monk, and we met him at the time when he had [just] received the laying on of hands as an elder; formerly he had been a husbandman, but he had laboured in the life of a solitary recluse (*or*, monk) for twenty years, and he had lived in close intercourse with the

¹ B has, "the rest of her riches she made perfect in the fire of the love;" *ἡ ὑπόλοιπος τῶν πλούτων αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ πυρὶ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐτέλει.*

Bishop of the city, who was a holy man. He was such a benevolent man that even in the night time he would go round about and visit those who were poor and needy, and he was so indefatigable in his work that he neglected neither the prison-house, nor the house of the sick (*i. e.*, hospital), nor the houses of the rich and poor, but he helped everyone. He urged the rich with words which were full of mercy and exhorted them to fair deeds, and he toiled with anxious care on behalf of the poor and needy, in respect of those things which were [Page 209] meet for them. Those who were struggling in contention he brought nigh unto peace, and those who were naked he clothed with raiment, and he laboured for the sick and brought them the bindings up which conduced to [their] healing. Now there existed in this city of Ancyra that which existeth rightly in large cities, that is to say, in the porch of the church thereof there lay a great number of poor folk, who were in the habit of going about begging for their daily bread, and among them were certain men who had wives; and it fell out on the night of a certain day that one of these women was about to give birth to a child. And by reason of the pain which was darting through her, and the severe anguish of the birth-pangs, she cried out loudly, and the blessed man heard her outcries from the church as he was praying; and the blessed man ceased praying and went forth to see [what was happening], although it was winter. And seeing that there was no man nigh unto her in her necessity, he himself filled the place of the midwife,¹ and he abhorred not the shame which attacheth unto those who give birth to children; for the great act of lovingkindness which he was about to perform did not grant unto him the perception of such things.

¹ Literally, "the woman doctor."

Now of this blessed man the garments (*or*, possessions) were so utterly poor that they were worth nothing at all, for by reason of the great lovingkindness which dwelt in him he took no pains at all to acquire any possession whatsoever. For if anyone gave him a book he straightway went and sold it, and unto those who enquired of him concerning it, saying, "Why didst thou sell [the book]?" he said, "How am I to persuade the Master (*or*, Teacher) that I have in truth learned His handicraft, unless I make use of His testimony as to the true [meaning] of His handicraft?" And this holy man thereupon persisteth in this course of action until this day, and he hath left behind him unto all those who dwell in that country a never-fading remembrance. And he is happy in the expectation of the good things which are for ever, and he waiteth to receive the reward [Page 210] of the labours of his triumphs in the kingdom of heaven from Him Who said, "I was an hungered and ye gave Me to eat. I was naked and ye clothed Me."¹

CHAPTER XLIX.

OF JOHN OF LYCUS, A CITY OF THE THEBAÏD.

JOHN, who lived in the city of LYCUS, and who had learned in his youth the craft of the carpenter, and whose brother was a dyer, afterwards, when he was about five and twenty years old, took upon himself the garb of monkhood; and having lived in divers monasteries for five years, he finally departed by himself to the mountain which is in Lycus, to the lofty eminence which is on the top of the mountain and made three cells for himself there. Now he built and

¹ St. Matthew xxv. 35, 36.

prepared these for himself in the first year after he went to the mountain and went up into it. The first cell was for the needs of the body, in the second he laboured at the work of his hands, and took his food, and in the third he said his prayers, and during the three¹ years which he was in seclusion there he was wont to receive whatsoever was necessary for him through the window from him that ministered unto him.

Now this blessed man was worthy [to receive] from God the gift of being able to declare things before they came to pass, and on several occasions he made known things before they happened unto the blessed Emperor THEODOSIUS, I mean he foretold that he would conquer MAKHSÎMÊ (MAXIMUS) the rebel and would return from GALLIA,² and he also announced to him beforehand concerning the defeat of EWÂRGHENÎS (EUGENIUS) the rebel, and thus the fame of this holy man went forth greatly, and he was held to be a man of spiritual excellence. Now therefore when we were in the desert of Nitria, I and the members of the following of the blessed EWÂRGHENÎS (EVAGRIUS?) wished to gain exact information concerning the state of spiritual excellence to which the man [had attained]. Thereupon the blessed EVAGRIUS said, "I am very desirous of learning³ from 'some one who is skilled in the investigation [Page 211] 'of the mind and understanding what manner of man "[John] is; for although I myself am unable to see him, "still I can learn from another man [concerning] his "qualities of excellence if he be able to narrate them, "but I cannot go so far as [his] mountain." Now when I had heard these things I said nothing whatsoever to any man, and I held my peace for a day, but on the morrow I shut up my cell, and having confided myself

¹ B, "thirty."

² Reading with B م. يهين.

³ Read, with B, م. كمل.

to the hands of God I set out on my journey to go to the Thebaïd, where I arrived after eighteen days, on some of which I walked on my feet and on others I sailed on the river. For it was the period of the year when the river riseth, and when many folk fall sick, the which also happened unto me. And when I had gone [to JOHN] I found that he had shut himself up in the place wherein he lived in seclusion, and I took up my abode with the brethren in a great house which contained about one hundred¹ men, and which the brethren had built a long time; for though they shut in JOHN during the other days of the week on Saturday and Sunday they used to open his window.

When therefore I had learned the rule concerning his seclusion, I waited until the Saturday, and at the second hour I drew nigh and found him sitting in the opening in the wall (*or*, window), wherein he waited to administer comfort and consolation unto those who thronged unto him. And having saluted me he said unto me through an interpreter, "Whence art thou, "my son? And why hast thou come? Thou appearest "to me to belong unto the congregation of EVAGRIUS." And I said unto him, "I am a stranger from [the "country of] the Galatians," and I confessed that I also belonged unto those who were the followers of EVAGRIUS. Now whilst we were conversing together behold, ALÔM-
PIS (ALIPPIUS), the governor of the country, came unto him, and as the governor turned to him, JOHN ceased to talk to me and I left them for a little space and gave them opportunity² to talk, and I rose up [and departed] from the mountain. And when they had passed much time in their converse I became impatient and angry, and I murmured against that excellent old man because it seemed as if he had treated me lightly

¹ Read *٢٠٠* .

² Literally, "I gave place."

and had paid honour to the governor; [Page 212] and being offended in my mind at this [treatment] I made up my mind to go away because of his disregard of me. Then JOHN called unto his interpreter, whose name was THEODORE, and said unto him, "Go and say unto that brother, 'Be not angry and impatient, 'for I will dismiss the governor immediately, and [then] 'I will speak with thee.'" Thus it appeared to me that, like a spiritual being he had knowledge of secret things, and I made up my mind to remain. And when the governor had departed JOHN called unto me and said unto me, "My son, why wast thou vexed with me? What hast thou found which is worthy of [being considered] an offence? Thou hast imagined¹ things which are not to be found in me, and which are not creditable unto thyself. Dost thou not know that it is written, 'Those that are whole have no need of a physician;' only those who are in very evil case have need of him.' Thee I can find whensoever I wish, and if I myself do not comfort thee the brethren and the other fathers will do so. But this governor who hath come to us is tightly bound unto the Calumniator by means of the affairs of this world, and, having obtained respite for a brief space from the vain labour of [his] abominable servitude, he fleeth like a slave from his master and cometh to be helped; therefore it would not be seemly to leave him, and to be constant in attention unto thee, for thou art at all seasons occupied with the cultivating of thy life."

And having said these things I entreated him to forgive me, and I became certain in my mind that he was a spiritual man. Then with a smile he patted my left cheek with his right hand, and said unto me, "Many temptations will rise up for thee to endure, and moreover, for many years [past], thou hast struggled

¹ Reading, with B, ~~and~~.

² St. Matthew ix. 12; St. Mark ii. 17; St. Luke v. 31.

"to go forth from the desert, and thou strugglest even
 "to this day, but thou hast been afraid; and the causes
 "thereof, which were thought [by thee to arise from]
 "the fear of God, hath the Evil One himself sowed in
 "thy mind; and although thou didst drive away thy
 "thought from thee thou hast kept him with thee.
 "For he sowed in thee the thought of desire, which
 "was also pleasant unto thee [Page 213], that is to say,
 "thou didst care greatly to bring out of the world thy
 "father and also thy sister that they might take upon
 "themselves the garb of the monastic life. Now there
 "still remain to thy father seven¹ other years of life,
 "therefore continue to abide in the desert, and do not
 "on account of these thoughts desire to go to thy
 "kinsfolk, for it is written, 'No man who hath put his
 "'hand on the ploughshare and looketh back is useful
 "'to the kingdom of heaven.'² Now, therefore, being
 helped by these words whereby I triumphed³ I gave
 thanks and praise unto God Who had quieted and laid
 to rest in me the cause which was urging me to go
 forth from the desert.

Then afterwards he said unto me with a smile,
 "Wishest thou to become a Bishop?" And I said unto
 him, "I have already been made one;" and he said
 unto me, "Where?" Then I answered and said unto
 him, "I am the Bishop of the public eating-houses, and
 "of the taverns, and of tables, and of wine-pots, for I
 "am a visitor of them. And if the wine hath gone
 "sour I can distinguish it, and that which is fit [to
 "drink] I drink. Similarly I visit the cooking pot and
 "if it needeth salt, or any seasoning whatsoever, I
 "season it with sauces and then I eat thereof. For
 "this is my episcopate, that is to say, my visiting, and
 "it is the love of the belly and gluttony which hath

¹ Reading with B **سبعة**.

² St. Luke IX. 62.

³ B **سعدت** "I became comforted sufficiently."

"made me the visitor of these." And with a smile he said unto me further, "Quit these [words] of jesting, "for a Bishop thou must needs be, and thou wilt have "to labour and to be troubled greatly; now if thou "wishest to flee from tribulations and temptations go "not forth from the desert, for in the desert no man "will make thee a bishop."

And when I had departed from him I came to the desert, that is, to my place wherein I dwelt, and having related these things unto the blessed fathers, who after two months went and held intercourse with him, I forgot his words. And three years afterwards I fell sick with a sore sickness which was caused by my kidneys and stomach [Page 214] and I was sent to Alexandria by the brethren who believed that I was collecting water (*i. e.*, becoming dropsical), and the physicians counselled me to leave Alexandria, and for the sake of the air (*or*, climate) to go to Palestine, where the air (*or*, climate) was temperate and light and would be beneficial to my body. From Palestine I went to Bithynia, where, for what reason I know not, whether by the care and solicitude of men, or whether by the Will of God Who is exalted above all things, I was held to be worthy of the laying on of hands for the episcopacy, which was far above my deserts, and I became an associate in the temptation (*or*, trial) which rose up against the blessed JOHN,¹ Bishop of Constantinople. And having been secluded for a period of about eleven months in a dark cell I remembered that blessed man who had told me of the things which had happened to me before they came to pass. Now the blessed man JOHN related the things unto me, according to my opinion,² that by means of the narrative he might incite my mind and bring me to continue to dwell in the desert; and he said unto me,

¹ *I. e.*, John Chrysostom.

² Read ~~his~~.

"Behold, I have passed eight and forty years in this cell, and I have never seen the face of a woman [during the whole time], and no man hath either seen me eat or drink."

Now the handmaiden of Christ POEMENIA came unto the blessed man and begged that she might see him, but the blessed man would not allow her to do so; and he sent unto her other spiritual words to give her consolation, and he commanded her that when she was going down from the Thebaïd she should not turn aside to Alexandria, saying, that if she did so, she would certainly fall into temptations. But POEMENIA, forgetting this [advice] and never letting it enter her mind [again], turned aside to Alexandria that she might see the city, and on the way, by the side of the city NIKÔS [NICIUS], she stopped her ship that she might rest herself. And when her servants had disembarked, through some untoward circumstance strife broke out between them and the people of the country, who were truculent men, and they cut off a finger of one believing man [Page 215], and another they killed, and without knowing it they drowned the holy Bishop DIONYSIUS in the river. And they made the venerable woman to endure many revilings and threatened to do much violence unto her; and they beat all her servants with many severe stripes, and they would hardly allow them to proceed on their way.

CHAPTER L.

OF THE BLESSED MAN POSSIDONIUS.

Now the things which [are narrated] concerning the holy man POSSIDONIUS the Theban are so many that it is impossible to describe them all; he was so gentle, and gracious, and patient, and enduring, and

his soul had so much goodness in it that I do not know that I ever met another man who was like unto him. For I lived with him in Bethlehem for a year, at the time when he was living beyond the MONASTERY OF THE SHEPHERDS, which was close to the town, and I observed in him many qualities of excellence, of which I will relate [an example of] one or two. He told me one day when I was living by the side of PORPHYRITES, [saying], "I have not spoken to a man for a whole year, and I have not heard the speech of one. I have not eaten bread, but the insides of palm leaves soaked in water and, whenever I could find it, wild honey. Once, however, the time came when these things failed me, and I was in sore tribulation because of it. And I went forth from the cave that I might go to the habitations of men, and having journeyed on the whole day I was scarcely two miles distant from the cave. And I turned [and looked] behind me, and I saw, as it were, a horseman¹ whose appearance resembled that of a knight, and he had upon his head the similitude of a helmet, and thinking that he was a Roman I turned back to the cave, and I found outside it a basket of grapes and new, ripe figs, and I took them and went with them into the cave rejoicing; and that [Page 216] food sufficed to be a consolation unto me for a period of two months."

And the blessed man wrought in Bethlehem² the following miracle. A certain woman had conceived, and she was possessed of³ an unclean spirit, and being near to the bringing forth of her child she was greatly afflicted by birth pangs and was violently tortured by that spirit; and as she was writhing by reason of the workings of that devil, her husband came and entreated the holy man to go and pray over her, and

¹ Read, with B, فارس.

² Read, with B, بيت لحم.

³ We must delete من here.

we went into [her house] therefore that we might pray together. And having stood up and prayed, after he had knelt down twice he cast out that unclean spirit; when he stood up he said unto us, "Pray ye, "for straightway the devil shall go forth." But there was a certain sign, the fulfilment of which [he wished] to shew us, and therefore when that devil had gone forth, he overturned the whole of the courtyard wall unto its very foundations; now that woman had not spoken a word for a period of about six years, but after that devil had gone forth she brought forth her child and spake.

And, moreover, I also saw [an example] of the prophecy of this blessed man. There was a certain elder, whose name was ÎRÔNÔMÔS (HIERONYMUS), who dwelt in these parts, and he was exceedingly well versed in the art and practice of grammar and of eloquence, and he was greatly skilled in the Latin language; but he possessed the vices of envy and evil-eyedness to such a degree that the excellence of his very great skill and ability was entirely hidden. Now the blessed man POSSIDONIUS had dwelt with him for many days, and he told me that the free-woman PAULA, who had taken care of him, departed from this world before her time in order that she might escape from his envy, and, according to my opinion, it was on account of this man that none of the holy men would live in these districts; and the envy of this man continued to such a degree that it overtook his own brother, which thing took place even as he had foretold. And he also persecuted the blessed man KΣÛPRÎ-TÎPÔN¹ (OXYPERENTIUS), who came from Italy, [Page 217] and the wonderful men PETER the Egyptian and SIMEON, who were seen by me. And POSSIDONIUS the Great himself told me that for the whole period of forty years he had not tasted food made of bread, and that

¹ ܡܚܝܪܝܢܐܝܐ and ܡܚܝܪܝܢܐܝܐ.

wrath against any man did not abide with him as long as the half of the day.

CHAPTER LI.

OF CHRONIUS WHO WAS FROM THE VILLAGE OF PHOENIX.¹

There was a certain man, whose name was KARNTÔS (CHRONIUS), who came from the village which was called TEMERĒTHĀ² (*or*, TOMĀRTĀ) which was nigh unto the desert; and when he had gone away a little distance from human habitations, and had departed from his village, having measured out along the road with his right foot about fifteen thousand paces, he prayed and dug in that spot a pit, and he found [therein] good and sweet water. Now the well was about seven *kâwmê*³ in depth; and he built there a little habitation wherein to dwell, and from the day wherein he shut himself up in that place, he prayed to God that he might never return to a region inhabited by men. Now when he had dwelt there some few years, he was esteemed worthy to become a priest unto the brotherhood, for there were gathered together unto him about two hundred brethren. And these excellent things are said concerning him: that during the whole of the period of sixty years, wherein he was performing the ministrations of the altar, he never once went out of the desert, and that he never ate bread which he had not [earned by] the labour of his hands.

¹ τῆς κύμης τῆς λεγομένης Φοίνικος.

² A literal translation of PHOINIX.

³ *I. e.*, seven ells, or fathoms.

CHAPTER LII.

OF JAMES THE LAME [AND OF PAPHNUTIUS CEPHALA].

Now by the side of this KARNÎÔS (CHRONIUS), who is [mentioned] above, there used to dwell a certain man who was called JAMES the LAME, and he was an exceedingly learned man; now both of these men knew the blessed ANTHONY.

And it came to pass one day that there happened to be there also PAPHNUTIUS, who is described as a man who watered gardens by machines,¹ and who possessed the gift [Page 218] of knowledge to such a degree that he knew how to expound the Books of the Old and New Testaments without reading from them; and he was such a gentle man that his meekness overcame the gift of prophecy which was found with him; now the former was voluntary, and the latter was an act of Divine grace. And of this man it was said that he possessed spiritual excellence to such a degree that for a period of eighty years he did not own two tunics. Now when I and the blessed man EVAGRIUS came to these men we desired to learn the reasons for the stumblings of the brethren and for their transgressions against the strict rules of the ascetic life.

And it came to pass in those same days that CHAEREMON the anchorite departed from the world whilst he was sitting on his seat and holding his work in his hand.

And it came to pass that another brother was buried by a fall of earth when he was digging a well.

And another died of want of water as he was coming from Scete.

And in addition to these [we wished to learn] concerning the matter of ESTAPÂNÂ [STEPHEN], which

¹ The Syriac translator has confused Κεφαλᾶ with ܕܡܨܬܐ.

ought not to be spoken about, for he fell into foul lasciviousness.

And [we asked] concerning EUCARPIUS, and those which concerned HERO the Alexandrian, and WÁLIS [(VALENS)] the Palestinian, and PTOLEMY the Egyptian, who were in Scete. And we were asking among ourselves the question, "What is the reason why men live 'lives of this kind in the desert, whereby some receive 'injury mentally, and some are ensnared by lasciviousness?" Whereupon PAPHNUTIUS, that man of great learning, made answer unto us in the following words, saying, "All the various things which take place in 'the world must be divided into two categories, for 'some happen through the direct Will of God, and the 'others by His permission only; the things which are 'wrought to the praise of God especially happen by 'the direct desire of God, but all those which appertain to loss (*or*, injury), and danger, and to matters 'which produce tribulation take place by the permission 'of God. Now permission ariseth from a fault on the 'part of the mind. [Page 219] For it is impossible for 'the man who thinketh rightly to fall into foul sins, or 'into the error which ariseth from the devils, for all 'of these take place through a corrupt intent' (*or*, 'disposition), and through the [love of the] approval 'of the children of men, and by the daring of the 'thoughts, [which] hope to make perfect spiritual excellence. Such men fall into reprehensible wickedness, 'and God permitteth them so to do, that they may 'be a help unto them, that when they feel the difference which hath come upon them through this 'permission, they may remember themselves and 'may turn [again] unto spiritual excellence, either 'that which existeth in the mind, or that which existeth in deeds. And sometimes it is the mind 'which sinneth, that is to say, when that sin which

¹ Read *قصد*.

"taketh place is committed with evil intent; and sometimes it is the deeds themselves which must be rejected, as, for example, when they are performed in a manner which is quite beyond everything which is right and seemly, and this latter case happeneth frequently. Thus a man of lust will, with corrupt design, give alms unto young women in order that he may fulfill his foul desire, even though at the beginning he may say, 'It is a beautiful act for us to offer help to the maiden who is an orphan, and alone [in the world], and in misery.' And again it may happen that a man may begin to do alms with a good and acceptable intent to those who are sick, or to those who have lost their riches and become poor, and that though he giveth his gift in a niggardly manner, and may murmur [at the expense] and wax wroth, his motive in giving will be found to be a right one. Now the deed is not [to be thought] equal to the motive. For it is right for the man who would shew mercy to make his gift gladly and with a good eye."

And they also spoke the following: "There is a difference between the gifts which exist in various souls. Some of them possess keenness of mind, and some of them find it exceedingly easy and simple to acquire the habits of ascetic self-denial, or to do that which is difficult for other souls to do; but when a man maketh use of [his] gift of keenness of mind without a good object for so doing, or when he exerteth his faculty of performing things because it is easy for him to do so, or when men exercise the gifts which they have received [Page 220], they do not ascribe, as would be right, the correctness of their spiritual excellences unto God, but to their own desire, and to their own keenness of mind. And those to whom it is sufficient to perform fair works are permitted by the Divine Providence to be caught in a snare, either by filthy deeds or filthy passions, or by

“the contempt or by the disgrace which cometh unto
 “them from the children of men, so that through the
 “shame and the contempt which [they receive] from
 “the multitude they may little by little and by degrees
 “cast away from them their boasting about the spiritual
 “excellence which they imagine they possess.

“For he who is inflated and unduly exalted at the
 “keenness of speech [which he possesseth] doth not
 “ascribe to God, as is right, such keenness, or the dis-
 “covery of the knowledge which is from Him, but to
 “his own training, forsooth, or to his own naturally
 “keen disposition; [therefore] doth God remove from
 “him the Angel of His Divine Providence, and the
 “Angel being separated from him, this man is im-
 “mediately vanquished by his Adversary, and he who
 “was [unduly] lifted up in his keenness [of mind and
 “speech] falleth into lasciviousness, or into some kind of
 “filthy passion, because he was [unduly] exalted. And
 “because he was lifted up, and because the witness of
 “chastity hath separated himself from him, the things
 “which are said by him become unworthy of credence,
 “and those who fear God flee from the teaching of
 “the mouth of the man who is in this condition, even
 “as they would flee from a fountain which is full of
 “leeches,¹ so that there may be fulfilled that which is
 “written, ‘Unto the sinner God saith, What hast thou
 “to do with the Books of My Commandments?’² For
 “‘thou hast taken My covenant in thy mouth.’

“For in very truth the souls of those who are
 “moved by passions are like unto fountains of divers
 “kinds; the souls of gluttons and of those who live in
 “impurity and drunkenness are like unto muddy springs;
 “and the souls of those who love money and are
 “avaricious [are like unto wells which are full of frogs;
 “and the souls of those who live in envy and pride,

¹ Gr. καθάπερ πηγήν βδέλλας ἔχουσιν.

² Psalm L. 16.

“Now this is the behaviour of spiritual excellence. “For the spiritual words of a chaste mode of life do “not permit to grow up together with them the parched “spear-grasses, and ears of corn which have been smitten “by the south wind (*or*, drought), and which by reason “of their appearance make men think they are full, “whilst there is no [flour of] bread in them. Every “lapse (*or*, calamity) which taketh place, either through “the tongue, or through some feeling, or through some “action, or through the whole body, taketh place, in “proportion to the measure of a man’s pride, and by “the permission of God, Who sheweth compassion upon “those who commit themselves to His Divine Providence. “For, if in addition to their skill in ordering their speech “and their keenness of nature, the Lord were also to “testify to the beauty of their words by never per- “mitting them to fall, the arrogance with which they

* Adding from Bedjan:—*ܡܬܢ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*.

"would exalt themselves in impurity would probably surpass that of the devils."

And the following also did these men of the house of ABBÂ PAPHNUTIUS say unto us:—"When thou seest 'evil deeds and acts, that is to say, the conversation 'of him who leadeth an evil life, [and knowest] that 'they are fair and exceedingly plausible,' remember 'the Devil who, [as we learn] from the Holy Scriptures, 'spake with Christ,' and also the testimony which saith, 'Now the serpent was the most subtle' of all the 'serpents which were on the earth,' and that it was 'by reason of his subtlety that destruction came upon 'him, because he possessed no other quality of excellence which attached itself closely to his cunning. 'For it is meet that the believing man who feareth 'God should ponder upon that which God giveth 'unto him. And let him speak that which he meditate, and let him [Page 222] do that which he 'speaketh. For if to the asseveration of words there 'be not attached a brotherhood in acts and deeds, it 'is bread without salt, which cannot be eaten, lest '[digestion' be disturbed, even as the blessed man Job 'said, 'Can the thing which is insipid be eaten without 'salt? Or, is there any taste in the juice of the ox-'tongue plant?' Even thus polished words possess no 'savour whatsoever unless they be made complete by 'works.

¹ Literally, "perfect in entreaty."

² St. Matthew IV. 3 ff.

³ Genesis III. 1.

⁴ The text within brackets [] on pp. 270-274 is supplied from Bedjan's edition:—

دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ مَعْمُومٌ مَعْمُومٌ : نَبِيٌّ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ مَعْمُومٌ : دَلَّ
 مَجْلِدٌ مَعْمُومٌ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ : أَوْ نَبِيٌّ مَجْلِدٌ مَعْمُومٌ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ ؟
 أَوْ مَجْلِدٌ أَوْ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ مَعْمُومٌ مَعْمُومٌ : نَبِيٌّ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ
 مَعْمُومٌ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ . وَنَبِيٌّ دَلَّ مَجْلِدٌ مَعْمُومٌ نَبِيٌّ مَجْلِدٌ

⁵ Job vi. 6.

"Now therefore there is one kind of permission which "hideth spiritual excellence in order that it may be "revealed, as, for example, that of Job concerning which "God made known when He said unto him,¹ 'Blame "not My judgment, and think not that I have done "these things unto thee for any other reason than that "it might be known that thou art righteous. Thou "wast known unto Me because I see secret things, but "thou wast not revealed unto the children of men, "because they thought that thou didst care exceed- "ingly for riches that thou mightest make perfect My "pleasure; it was for this reason that I brought upon "thee the trial of stripping thee of thy riches so that "I might shew them thy gratitude towards Me, and "thy patient endurance.'

"And there is another kind of permission [which "God giveth] in order to drive out pride (*or*, arrogance), "as in the case of PAUL, for the blessed PAUL was

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¹ Job XL. 8ff.

“permitted by means of distractions and a goad, and
“he fell into divers tribulations, and he said, ‘There
“‘hath been given to me a goad in my flesh, a mes-
“‘senger of Satan,’ to buffet me so that I may not be
“‘[unduly] exalted,’ lest through the superfluity of the
“‘revelations, and signs, and gratifications [of the spirit],
“and prosperity, and honours which were found with
“him, he might become lax and fall into arrogance.
“And the paralytic was permitted because of sin, even
“according to what our Redeemer said unto him,
“‘Behold, thou art whole; sin no more.’” And JUDAS
“was permitted because he held money³ in greater
“esteem than life, and because of this he hanged
“himself. And ESAU⁴ was permitted, and he fell into
“filthy desire because he honoured the dung of the
“bowels more than the divine birthright. Therefore,
“because the blessed PAUL understood all these things,
“did he say concerning men, ‘Because they have not

[illegible]

² St. John v. 14.

4 Genesis XXV. 25.

Therefore from these things it is meet that we should know that it is impossible for a man to stumble and fall into filthy desire without the permission of the Providence of God.

OF THE BLESSED MAN SOLOMON.

دُكْرَتُہٗ نَبِیِّہٖ صَوْنٌ : اَنْ دَعَبَتْہٗ صَبَاحًا دُصِیْمٌ ۝۱۰۰ : یُحَدِّثُ :
 یُحَدِّثُ اِنْ دَعَبَتْہٗ لَکْرَتُہٗ : اَنْ یُعِیْ دُكْرَتُہٗ یَحْصِیْہَا ۝۱۰۱ دَعَبُہٗ
 لَہٗ : یُعَلِّیْہٗ یُعَلِّیْہٗ لَکْرَتُہٗ لَیْسَہٗ دُیْفَتُہٗ .
 مِمَّ اَنْ اَلَمَ اَنْجَلُ لَمَیْدُ وَاِیْدُ کَ : دُكْرَتُہٗ دُیْفَتُہٗ دُیْفَتُہٗ
 ۝۱۰۲ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ : دُكْرَتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ مِمَّ صَبَاحًا دُكْرَتُہٗ .
 دُكْرَتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ . دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ
 دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ : دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ . دُعُتُہٗ دُعُتُہٗ
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of Melania the Great, concerning whom we are about to speak later, sent five hundred darics and begged him to spend them on behalf of the brethren [who were there]; but he only took three of them, and then sent the remainder to the wandering monk Diocles, a man of knowledge and understanding, saying, "O our brother Diocles, thou art wiser than I am; I am not equal [to spending these];" and having taken them Diocles was able to spend them wisely on those whom he knew of a certainty to be in want.

OF DIOCLES.

This man DIOCLES was originally [one] of those who were greatly skilled in grammar, but afterwards he became learned in philosophy. And having arrived at the period of the twenty-eighth year of his life, he was called by the Grace of God, and he departed and removed himself from the house of instruction, and delivered himself over to the promise of Christ; and having dwelt in caves for the space of thirty-five years, he said unto us, "The mind which removeth itself "from the meditation of God" [falleth into lust].¹ Now he used to say that lust was that of a savage, animal, and bestial character, [for he said unto us, "The mind "which falleth away from the meditation of God be- "cometh either a devil or a beast"];² and we asked him to explain this saying unto us, and he did so, and said, "The mind which maketh itself to be remote "from the contemplation of God must, perforce, be de- "livered [Page 223] over either to the devil of lust,

2. අනුරාධපුරයේ සිට පැරණි පාලියට පැමිණීමේදී පැරණි පාලියට පැමිණීමේදී පැරණි පාලියට පැමිණීමේදී

"who leadeth [it] into lasciviousness, or to the evil devil of wrath, wherefrom are produced the animal passions." And he said, "The feeling of lasciviousness is a bestial thing, but the feeling of wrath appertaineth to the devil." And making answer I said unto him, "How is it possible for the human mind to be with God continually and uninterruptedly?" And he said, "The mind of that soul which liveth in the thought or deed of the fear of God, no matter what it may be, is with God."

CHAPTER LIV.

OF THE BLESSED MAN ΚΑΡΙΤΩΝ (CAPITON).

Now by the side of this man there used to dwell CAPITON, a man who had been formerly a thief, and he had lived in holes in the rocks for fifty years, [at a place] which was about four miles from Antinoë; he never went down from his cave, not even to the river Nile, for he used to say that he was unable to meet in the congregation of the children of men him that still fought with him, namely, his Adversary.

CHAPTER LV.

OF THE MONK WHO FELL.

And by the side of these blessed men I saw a man who also had made himself remote from the world, and he dwelt in holes in the rocks even as did they; now this man was mocked at by the devil of vain glory, and by the visions which he saw, and he was deluded (or, snared) by things which appeared to

approach him and then wandered away. And he was lacking in mind, even as it is written, "Being exalted "in his dreams he pastureth spirits and pursueth after "a shadow;" now he was chaste in his body, perhaps owing to the length [of his years], or perhaps through vain glory, yet through the matters of spiritual excellence he destroyed his understanding [Page 224], and he was corrupted by empty and polluted glory, and because of this he departed from the straight road of the ascetic life.

CHAPTER LVI.

OF THE BLESSED MAN EPHRAIM, THE DEACON OF THE CHURCH OF EDESSA.

A certain man among the holy Fathers saw in a dream the company of the holy angels who came down from heaven by the commandment of God, and one of them held in his hand a roll which was written on the inside and on the outside; and the angels said unto each other, "Who is fit to be entrusted with this "thing?" Then some of them mentioned one man and others another, and others answered and said, "Verily "these [whom ye mention] are holy and righteous, but "they are not sufficiently [so] to be entrusted with this "thing." And having reckoned up many names of Saints, they finally said, "No man is fit to be entrusted "with this thing except EPHRAIM;" and then they gave the roll to him. And when he had stood up in the morning, he heard that they were saying, "Behold, "EPHRAIM teacheth, and [his words] flow from his mouth "like [water from] a fountain;" then the old man who had seen the vision knew within himself that the things which were proceeding from his lips were of the Holy Spirit.

Now therefore this EPHRAIM, who was [one] of those who had been held to be worthy of mention by the saints, travelled along the spiritual road nobly and straightly, turning neither to one side nor the other of the straight path; and he was held to be worthy of the gift of the knowledge which he possessed naturally, and subsequently he received the knowledge which enabled him to utter divine things, and perfect blessedness. Thus he lived throughout the period of a certain number of years a life of chastity, and stern asceticism, and contemplation, and he edified all those who thronged to visit him, each according to his peculiar needs; and finally he compelled himself to go forth from his cell for the following reason, namely, a mighty famine lay over the city of Edessa. For having compassion on the creatures of the human race [Page 225] which was perishing and being destroyed, he spake unto those who were heaping up grain in the store houses, for he saw that they were wholly without compassion, saying, "How long will ye refuse to bring into your memories the loving-kindness of God? How long will ye allow your wealth, which is corruptible, to be the means of the accusation and condemnation of your souls?" Then they took counsel, and said unto him, "There is no man whatsoever whom we can trust to relieve the wants of those who are dying of hunger; for all the people are crafty and they act in a lying fashion concerning affairs" [of this kind]. Then EPHRAIM said unto them, "What manner of man do ye imagine that I am?" Now his character was held in the highest esteem by every man [in the city], and every man knew that he acted according to the truth and not falsehood. And the people said unto him, "O man, we know that thou art God;" and he said unto them, "Put your trust in me, then, and give me [the means of relieving] this distress, for behold, for your sakes, I will set myself apart to become the keeper of a house for receiving strangers." And he

took money, and he began to fence off in the streets places which were suitable for his purpose, and he provided with great care three hundred beds, some of which were intended for use in the burial of those who were dying, and others were intended for those who, it was thought, would live; and, in short, he brought in from the villages which were outside the city all those whom famine had stricken, and put them to bed, and every day he performed for them with the greatest possible solicitude the constant service of which they were in need, [paying for the same] with the money which came to him, and he rejoiced by means of those who supported him in the matter.

And it came to pass that, when that year of famine had been fulfilled, and there arrived after it a year of abundance, and every man departed to his house, inasmuch as he had nothing else to do he went into his cell; and after a period of one month he brought his life to a close, God having given him the opportunity whereby he might be crowned at the end of his life. Now he left behind him many books, and writings of various kinds, which were worthy of being preserved with the greatest care. It is said [Page 226] concerning him that when he was a youth he saw a dream, that is to say a vision, wherein a vine grew up out of his tongue, and it increased in size, and filled the whole of the space which was beneath the heavens, and was laden with grape-clusters in rich abundance; and all the feathered fowl of the heavens came and ate of the food thereof, and all the time they were eating the grape-clusters were increasing both in numbers and in size.

CHAPTER LVII.

OF INNOCENT THE PRIEST.

Concerning the matters of the blessed priest INNOCENT, who [lived] in the Mount of Olives, I think that thou must have heard from many people, but thou mayest also learn from us not a few things, for we lived with him for a period of three years. Now therefore this man was exceedingly simple, and he was [one] of the nobles of the palace in the kingdom of the Emperor CONSTANTINE; he withdrew himself from the partnership of marriage, but he had a son whose name was PAULE, who served in the household [of the Emperor]; and this son was caught in a transgression with the daughter of a certain priest, and INNOCENT was exceedingly wroth with him. Then INNOCENT made entreaty unto God, saying, "O our Lord, give thou unto him "such a spirit that he will not be able to find time to "sin in the lust of the body," for he thought that it would be better and more excellent in every way for his son to be delivered over to a devil rather than to fornication. And this actually came to pass to the youth, and he liveth to this day in the Mount of Olives loaded with irons, and admonished by a devil. Now this man INNOCENT, the father of PAULE, because he was of a most merciful disposition—though if I were to tell [the whole truth] I should say that he appeared to me to be lacking in sense—on very many occasions stole [things] and hid them from the brethren, and gave them unto those who were in want; but he was a simple man and had no wickedness in him; and he was held to be worthy of the gift [Page 227] [of the possession of power] over devils.

For a certain maiden, in whom was a devil, came unto him, [and¹ whilst we were looking at her the

¹ Adding, *והוא היה עשיר ונחמד*.

devil smote her, and threw her down upon the ground] and made her body to writhe and twist about; and when I saw [this] I wished to dismiss that maiden in order that she might go to her mother, because, on account of the cruelty (*or*, violence) of that devil, I thought that she could never be healed. And whilst I was pondering those things the old man INNOCENT came, and he saw her mother standing, and weeping, and tearing her face with her nails, and plucking out her hair, because of the great madness, and the gnashing of the teeth, and the contortions of her daughter. When, therefore, that blessed old man saw her his mercy revealed itself because he was grieved on account of her tribulation, and he took the maiden, and went into his martyrium, which he himself had built, and wherein was preserved a blessed [relic] of Saint JOHN THE BAPTIST, and having prayed there and made supplication unto God from the third unto the ninth hour, he gave the maiden [back] to her mother, and she was healed on [that] day, and he drove away from her the devil and [his] struggles [with her]. Now the strugglings and contortions of the maiden were such that when she spat, she spat upon her side [instead of away from her]; to this extent was her body twisted.

And again, a certain old woman lost a sheep, and she came to him weeping [about it], and he took her, and said unto her, Shew me the place where thou didst lose it; and they came, therefore, to a place which was near the grave of LAZARUS, where he stood up and prayed. Now certain boys had stolen the sheep and had already killed it. And INNOCENT having prayed, and the boys being unwilling to confess that the flesh of the sheep was buried in a vineyard, a raven suddenly appeared, though wherefrom no man knoweth, which had taken a piece of flesh from the carcase, and stood over the place where it was; and when the old man saw this he perceived that the sheep was buried there. Then [Page 228] those boys fell down and did

homage to him, and they confessed that they had taken the sheep, and paid the price thereof to its mistress.

CHAPTER LVIII.

OF THE BLESSED ELPIDIUS.

In those caves which, in ancient times, certain men had hewn out of the rock in the valley of the river near Jericho, wherein those who had fled from before JOSHUA, the son of NUN, had gone up and hidden themselves, there dwelt ELPIDIUS; now he was a Capadocian, who had been converted in the monastery of TIMOTHY the Chorepiskopos, and he was a wonderful man and was also held to be worthy of consecration to the priesthood. And he came and dwelt in one of these caves, and he shewed such patient persistence in his self-abnegation, that he surpassed and eclipsed many [thereby]; for he followed for five and twenty years his rule of life, and during that time he only ate food on the Sabbath day, and on the First Day of the week, and he dwelt like the chief and the king of the bees among the cells of the whole brotherhood. And he used to rise up continually during the night and pray; and I myself also dwelt with him. And he made that mountain to be so peaceful and to contain so many inhabitants that it resembled a city, and during the night season a man might see the various works, and the labours of all kinds which appertain to the ascetic life, being performed there. One night, when this man ELPIDIUS was reciting the service, now we were with him, a scorpion stung him, and he crushed the insect, without either leaving the place where he was or being in any way moved as a man usually is when he is suffering from the sting of a scorpion. And one day as he was holding in his

hand a vine branch, a certain brother took it away from him; and as he was sitting by the side of the mountain, he dug a hole and pushed the vine branch into it, like a man who is planting [vines]; and although it was not the time for planting, the vine-branch sprouted, and grew very large, and spread its branches abroad until it covered the whole church. Now the name of that brother was AENESIUS, a wonderful man [Page 229].

CHAPTER LIX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN EUSTATHIUS.

EUSTATHIUS was a brother of the ELPIDIUS whom [we have mentioned] above, and this man followed so strenuously after the acquisition of impassibility, and made his body so dry (*i. e.*, emaciated) by the labours of vigilant prayer, that the [light of] the sun could be seen between his ribs. And of him the following story is told by the brethren who were continually with him, that is to say, by his disciples:—He never turned himself towards the west, because close by the side of the door of his cave¹ was a mountain which, because of its mighty bulk, was very hard [to ascend]; and he never looked at the sun after the sixth hour of the day, because the door of his cell was hidden by the shadow of the mountain so long as the sun was declining towards its place of setting. And moreover, he could never see those stars which appear in the western part of the sky, and for five and twenty years from the time when he entered the cave wherein he dwelt he never went down from the mountain.

¹ Add 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 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CHAPTER LX.

OF THE BLESSED MAN SISINNIUS.

Now this holy man ELPIDIUS had a certain disciple whose name was SISINNIUS, who was a slave by birth, though a free man in the faith; by race he was a Cappadocian, and it is necessary that we should make known the fact that he was so, for the sake of the glorifying of Christ Who hath made us worthy to be accounted His kinsmen, and to be exalted to that true family, which is full of happiness, of the kingdom of heaven. Now therefore, when this man SISINNIUS had passed some time with ELPIDIUS, and had struggled to lead the ascetic life strenuously for a period of six or seven years, he at length shut himself up in a grave for three years, and he endured such privations therein that neither by day nor by night did he sit or lie down, and he never went out therefrom. And this man was held to be worthy of possessing the gift of authority over devils, and now that he hath come into his own country he hath been held to be worthy of the gift [Page 230] of the priesthood; and he hath made congregations of men and of women, which, according to a sure testimony, lead lives of purity and chastity. He hath trampled upon the lust which is in men, and he hath bridled the voluptuousness of the women, so that there hath been fulfilled that which is written, "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor "female."¹ And he was also a great lover of strangers and of voluntary poverty, which was a reproach unto those who were rich and miserly.

¹ Galatians III. 28.

CHAPTER LXI.

OF THE BLESSED GADDÂI (GADDANUS), THE PALESTINIAN.

And I saw a certain old man whose name was GADDÂI, who lived without a shelter all his days in the places which were by the side of the Jordan. On one occasion the Jews rose up against him in fierce hatred (*or*, zeal) by the side of the Dead Sea, and they drew the sword against him, and one of them took up a weapon to smite him, when the following great and wonderful thing was wrought upon the man who dared to lift up a sword against the blessed man:—the hand of the man who had drawn the sword withered immediately, and the sword itself fell upon the ground.

CHAPTER LXII.

OF THE BLESSED MAN ELIJAH.

And there was in this place a solitary monk called ELIJAH who used to dwell in a cave, and he passed his life in performing the works of spiritual excellence, and was worthy of praise. One day, when a great many of the brethren thronged to him—now his [dwelling-place] was a cave¹—he lacked bread, and he made apologies [to us] because he was troubled on account of the insufficiency of the bread. Now therefore, when the brethren went into his cell they found three loaves of bread, and when twenty men had eaten and were satisfied, there still remained one loaf which, one said, satisfied him for five and twenty days [Page 231].

¹ Bedjan's reading is *بدجند*.

CHAPTER LXIII.

OF SĀBHĀṬ [SABAS] THE LAYMAN¹ OF JERICHO.

And there was a certain layman from Jericho whose name was SĀBHĀṬ [SABAS], and he had a wife, and this man loved the monks so much that during the night season he used to go round about in the desert and pass by the cells of the solitary dwellers therein, and outside the cell and habitation of each one of them he would set down a bushel of dates and vegetables, which would be sufficient for his wants, for the monks who lived by the side of the Jordan did not eat bread, and thus this man SĀBHĀṬ supplied the wants of the monks. One day as he was carrying along a load [of food] for the usual needs of the monks, through the operation of the Evil One, who is the Adversary of the monks, a lion met him, which terrified him, and wished to make him to cease from his ministrations to those holy men, and schemed to prevent him from performing his benevolent intent for their comfort. And the lion having overtaken him about a mile from the place where the monks were, and having seized him by his hand in order to turn him aside from his business, He, Who by the hand of DANIEL shut the mouth[s] of the lions, shut the mouth of this lion also, and the beast did this lover of alms no harm whatsoever; and although the lion was exceedingly hungry he only took a very little of the things which SĀBHĀṬ was carrying for the old men, and then he departed. And it is manifest that He Who gave this man his life also satisfied the hunger of the lion.

¹ Literally, "son of the world", *i. e.*, a man who had not adopted the ascetic life.

Now the man [who was the master of the actors] was the first to become converted and enlightened by the word of God, and the next was his wife, and finally their whole house was converted. During the first years after the actors had bought him, and when they did not know who he was, he used to wash their feet with his hands, and having taught them and baptized them he made them to be remote from their occupation in the theatre, and they led a God-fearing life in all righteousness; and they held him in reverence, and honoured him, and marvelled at his radiant life. Finally they said unto him, "Come, O our brother, we will set thee free from this servitude, even as thou hast set us free from the slavery of heathenism." Then he answered and said unto them, "Since God hath helped [me], and your souls have been set free and they have life, I will tell you my story (*or*, thing) and my contending. I undertook this kind of work in order that [Page 233] your souls might have life. By race I am an Egyptian, and a free man [but] I am a monk [vowed] to self-denial and poverty, and for the sake of our Lord I sold myself to you in order that your souls might be set free from the impurity of this world; since now our Lord hath worked through my meekness, and your souls live, take your gold and I will go to another place, so that I may be able to benefit others also." And they begged and entreated him, saying, "Remain with us, and thou shalt be unto us a father, and a master, and a director;" but he would not hearken unto their entreaty. And again they answered and said unto him, "Give the gold to the poor, and let it be a pledge of life for us; and we entreat thee to see us if it be only once a year."

Then, this man having gone round about came to HELLAS, and stayed in ATHENS three days, and no man gave him a morsel of bread; now he carried nothing with him, neither purse, nor wallet, nor head-cloak,

nor anything whatsoever. And when the fourth day had come, he waxed exceedingly hungry, and he went and stood up upon a certain high place where all the free men of the city were gathered together, and he began to clap his hands, and to cry out with a loud voice, saying, "O men of Athens, send [help]."¹ And at [the sound of] his voice they all marvelled, and the free men and the soldiers ran to him, and said unto him, "What aileth thee? Whence comest thou? What hath happened unto thee?" Then he answered and said unto them, "By race I am an Egyptian, and being a long way from my true country I have fallen into the hands of three creditors; now two of these have departed from me having taken that which was theirs, and now they have no debt against me about which to chide me, but the third will not leave me." And the philosophers made enquiries of him who these creditors were, and they said unto him, "Shew us who thy creditors are, and who it is [Page 234] that is afflicting thee, and we will entreat them [to desist]; shew us who they are so that we may help thee." And he answered and said unto them, "From my youth up the love of money, and fornication, and the appetite of the belly have oppressed me; from the first two of these, that is, the love of money and fornication, I have been freed, and they no longer oppress me, but I am wholly unable to set myself free from the appetite of the belly. Behold, it is now the fourth day since I have eaten anything and the belly constraineth me, for it demandeth that which is its usual debt, and unless this debt [be paid] I shall not be able to live." Then certain of the philosophers thought that he had schemed this crafty device in order that he might gain some benefit, and one of them took a *dinâr* and gave it unto him, and having taken it he spent [part of] it in buying bread in their presence;

¹ Bedjan has ٥٣٥.

and he took one [loaf of] bread, and straightway departed from the city and did not come back to it again. Thus the philosophers knew that he was indeed a wonderful man, and they paid the price of the loaf of bread which he had taken, and received back the *dinâr*.

And having departed to another city he heard there concerning a certain other man, who was the chief of the whole city, and who was a Manichæan, with all his house, and who had several associates [in the city]. Then the monk, according to his former plan, sold himself to this Manichæan, and in two years he was able to turn this man and his wife [from their error], and to bring them into the Catholic Church; and after they had learned who he was, they never again regarded him as a slave, but they honoured him as a father, and as a master, and they ascribed praise unto God.

And on another occasion he determined to go to Rome, and he embarked in a ship which was going thither¹ that he might go with them (*i. e.*, with the sailors). Now when the sailors of the ship saw that he boldly embarked in the ship carrying nothing with him, neither bread, nor anything [else], nor provisions for the journey, they thought that one of their number must have taken his baggage and placed it in the ship, and because of this thought [Page 235] they received him unquestioningly. And having embarked, when the sailors had sailed from Alexandria [a distance of] about five hundred stadia, each one of those who were sitting in the ship began at the time of sunset to eat, and the sailors also ate in their presence; and they observed that the monk did not eat on the first day, and thought that [he did not do so] because of sea-sickness, and thus also was it on the second day, and on the third day, and on the fourth day. Now

¹ Adding *سبحان الله العظيم*.

on the fifth day, whilst all those who were on the ship were eating their meal he sat in his place and was silent, and as they were looking at him they said, "Why dost thou not eat?" and he replied, "I have nothing [to eat]." Then they began to make enquiries and to cry out among themselves, "Who among you has taken his things, or his provisions for the way?" And when they saw that no man had taken anything from him [they began to] dispute with him, and to say unto him, "O man, how is it that thou hast embarked on the ship without provisions and money? Where wilt thou obtain the money to give us for thy passage?" And he said unto them, "I have thought nothing whatsoever about it, [for] an Egyptian has no anxious care about anything; but carry me back whence ye took me and cast me out [if you wish]." Now even if he had given them one hundred *dinārs* they would not have been able to turn him back [to Alexandria], and he therefore remained in the ship, and they fed him until he arrived in Rome. And having come to Rome he made enquiries, and learned what monk or nun was there, and he found RŪMNĪN (or, DŌMNĪN), the disciple of EVAGRIUS, whose bed, after his death, cured every kind of sickness. And having seen him, and spoken with him he was greatly edified by him, for he was a man who was greatly skilled in the labours of the ascetic life, and in speech, and in knowledge, and he learned from him what monks and nuns were in Rome, in order that he might see them.

[Here some editor of Palladius remarks, "In another manuscript the following is written"]:—

And the venerable fathers relate concerning him that he once heard that there was in the city of Rome a certain nun who led a life of the strictest seclusion, who had never [Page 236] seen a man, and who used to think concerning herself that she was perfect. Then this blessed man threw himself into a ship and came to Rome, and having learned where she lived

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he went and spake with the old woman who ministered unto her, and said unto her, "Get thou in and say 'unto the virgin, I desire to see thee most eagerly, 'because God hath sent me unto thee;' and he waited two days and then saw her. And when he saw her, he said unto her, 'Sit thee down;'" and she said unto him, "I will not sit down, but will depart." And he said unto her, "Whither goest thou?" and she said unto him, "To God." And he said unto her, "Art 'thou living or dead?" and she said unto him, "I believe, 'by God, that I am dead, for who that liveth in the 'body is not able to depart [therefrom]?" And he said unto her, "If thou art dead as thou sayest, do thou 'that which I do;" and she said unto him, "Tell me 'what can happen, and I will do it." And again he said unto her, "To one who is dead unto the world 'it is easy to do every thing except commit sin," and he further said unto her, "Come down, and get thee 'out of thine house;" then she said unto him, "I have 'not gone out of it for five and twenty years, why 'should I go out of it now?" And he said unto her, "If thou art indeed dead unto the world, and the world 'is dead unto thee, it is the same thing unto thee 'whether thou goest forth or dost not go forth; come, 'get thee out." And she went out.

And after she had gone forth she followed him¹ to a certain church, and he said unto her in the church, "If thou wishest me to believe that thou art dead to 'the world and art not alive, in order that thou mayest 'be pleasing² unto the children of men, do what I do, 'and then I will believe thee and I shall know that 'thou art a dead woman, even as thou sayest." And she said unto him, "Tell me what it is meet for me 'to do, and I will do it;" then he said unto her, "Cast 'off thy garments, and put [them] on thy head, and

¹ The better reading is ܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

² Reading, with Bedjan ܕܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

"walk through the midst of the city, and I will do likewise and [will go] in front of thee in this [Page 237] guise." And the nun said unto him, "I should offend many folk by such a remarkable act as this, and then they would say, 'This woman hath gone mad, and hath a devil'." And he said unto her, "What need hast thou to consider [their words] even if they should say, 'She hath gone mad, and hath a devil'? For, according to what thou thyself sayest, 'thou art a dead woman unto them.'" And the nun said unto him, "If there be any other thing [except this] tell me, for I cannot come to such a measure of disgrace as this." Then he said unto her, "Do not imagine in thy mind that thou art more perfect than anyone else, or that thou art dead to the world; for I am far more dead to the world than thou art, and I can shew thee that I am indeed so, and that I can boldly do this thing without [feeling] shame or disgrace." Then having broken her spirit and humbled her pride, he departed from her. And there were many things of the same kind which this same SERAPION did in the world, for he despised both worldly shame and the glory which passed away; he died at the age of sixty years, and was buried at a good old age, being adorned with all virtues.

[CHAPTER LXV.]

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLESSED MAN EULOGIUS, WHO
MINISTERED UNTO THE ARIAN, WHOSE BODY WAS
DESTROYED FOR THE SAKE OF CHRIST.

[The following story] was related unto me by CRONIUS, the priest of Nitria, [who said]:—When I was a young man I abhorred the monastery, and I fled from it, and from the head of the monastery

who was my instructor, and having lost my way and gone round about, I came unto the Monastery of MÂR ANTÔNÎS (ANTHONY); now he used to dwell between the mountains of Babhlônâ and Bêharkâlâ,¹ in a parched desert which led to the Red Sea, about thirty miles from the river [Nile], and I was there in that monastery wherein dwelt those disciples of his who buried him when he died, now their names were MÂKÂRÎS (MACARIUS) and AMAÏTÊÔS (AMATUS), in a place which was called Espîr. And I remained there for five days, so that I might be able to see the blessed ANTHONY, for they used to say that he was in the habit of coming [Page 238] to this monastery from the Inner Desert once every five, or ten, or twenty days, according as God directed and brought him, to give help unto the souls who thronged into his monastery, and who awaited him there, in order that they might be relieved by him. And the brethren also were assembled there and waited for him also, each one of them having his own individual matter [to lay before him]. Now among them was a certain man from Alexandria, whose name was EULOGIUS, and with him was another man, an Arian, whose body was destroyed,² and they had come because of this matter. And this man EULOGIUS was a scholastic, and he was the most educated of all the learned men [of this time], but the love of the living God had suddenly come into his mind, and he made himself to be remote from the world, and he distributed all the money which he had among the poor, and he left himself only a small sum which was just sufficient for his bodily needs, for he was unable to work or to enter into a monastery with many monks in it, and besides this lassitude was contending with him, and he sought a little companionship.

¹ *I. e.*, he dwelt in the mountains between Babylon and Herakleia.

² *I. e.*, he was a leper.

Now [he went forth] seeking to buy something which he wanted in the city, and he found in the market a certain man who was an Arian, and whose whole body was destroyed; he had neither hands nor feet, but his tongue was sharp, and he employed it unsparingly upon every man whom he met. And when EULOGIUS had seen him, and looked at him, he lifted up his eyes and his mind towards God, and he prayed and made this covenant between himself and God, saying, "O our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in Thy Name, O my Lord, I will take this man, who is sick in his body, and I will relieve [his wants] all the days of my life, so that through him my soul may live before Thee; but I beseech Thee to give me power to endure in my ministrations to him." And having prayed, he drew nigh unto the man, and said unto him, "I beseech thee, O man, to let me take thee unto my house and to relieve thy wants." [Page 239] And the sick man said unto him, "Why not?" Then EULOGIUS said unto him, "I will therefore bring an ass, and carry thee off," and he promised him [saying], "I,"¹ and he went and brought an ass and carried him to the place where he lived, and he took care of him with the greatest diligence. And for a period of fifteen years EULOGIUS relieved his wants with the greatest and most careful attention, and he even washed him with his own hands² and he did everything he could to alleviate the affliction of his sickness.

Now after fifteen years a devil began to stir in that Arian, and he began to revile EULOGIUS, and to offer resistance to him, and he cursed him and hurled after him insults and abuse, saying, "O thou runaway [slave], who hast eaten thy lord, thou hast stolen the riches of other folk and art spending them upon me,

¹ The text is uncomplete here.

² Adding, from Bedjan, *ἡ ἑξῆς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπολογία τοῦ ἁγίου*.

"and thou thinkest to have life through me! Cast me out into the street, for I wish to eat flesh." And EULOGIUS brought him flesh, and again he cried out, and said, "Thou wilt not persuade me [to remain here] by these means; I wish to go forth into the street, and I desire to see the world. By Jupiter, carry me out and cast me where thou didst find me. If I only had hands I would strangle myself." Now [he spake] thus through the madness of the devil which was with him.¹ Then EULOGIUS rose up and went to the neighbouring monks and said unto them, "What shall I do? for this deformed man hath brought me to despair. I would set him free, only I have given [my] right hand in covenant to God, and I am afraid [to do so]; but on the other hand, if I do not cast him out he will bring upon me bad nights and bitter days. What to do with him I know not." And they said unto him, "[ANTHONY] the Great is still alive, go to him; take the man with thee in a ship, and go thou up to him, and carry the man to his monastery, and wait there until he cometh from the desert and then tell him thy business. And whatsoever word he shall say unto thee thou shalt perform, for God shall speak unto thee through him." Then EULOGIUS was persuaded by them, and he placed the man in a small boat, and he carried him up to the monastery wherein were the disciples [Page 240] of ANTHONY.

And it came to pass that on the very day after EULOGIUS had arrived there that great man came from the inner desert to his disciples in the late evening, and he was clothed in [his] skin cloak. Now whensoever he came to his monastery he was in the habit of calling out to his disciple MACARIUS, and saying unto him, "O brother MACARIUS, have any brethren come this day from anywhere?" And MACARIUS would say, "Yea." Then ANTHONY would say, "Are they Egyptians

¹ Read ⲙⲁⲩⲉ.

"or Jerusalemites?" Now he had given MACARIUS this sign:—"When thou seest brethren who are simple and "innocent say they are EGYPTIANS; but when thou seest "brethren who are venerable and are skilled in speaking, say they are JERUSALEMITES." Therefore according to his custom ANTHONY asked MACARIUS, "Are they "Egyptian brethren or JERUSALEMITES?" and MACARIUS said, "They are neither EGYPTIANS nor JERUSALEMITES."¹ Now when MACARIUS would answer, "They are EGYPTIANS," ANTHONY would say unto him, "Cook them a "mess of lentiles that they may eat, and then dismiss them, and let them go in peace;" and he would say a prayer on their behalf, and would straightway send them away. And when MACARIUS would answer, "They "are JERUSALEMITES," ANTHONY would sit down the whole night, and would converse with them to the benefit of their lives.

And on that night he sat down, and called unto them all, and he discoursed without any man having told him the name of one of them, and it was dark and the night had come; and suddenly he cried out three times, thus, "EULOGIUS, EULOGIUS, EULOGIUS." And EULOGIUS the scholastic answered him never a word, because he thought that ANTHONY was calling some other person, and again ANTHONY cried out to him, "Unto thee I speak, O EULOGIUS, "who hast come from Alexandria." Then EULOGIUS said unto him, "Master, what commandest thou [me to do? "Tell me], I beseech thee." And ANTHONY said unto him, "Wherefore hast thou come?" And EULOGIUS answered and said unto him, "Let Him that hath revealed unto "thee my name declare unto thee for what purpose I "have come." Then ANTHONY said unto him, "I know "why thou hast come, nevertheless [Page 241] declare "[it] before the brethren in order that they may hear." And EULOGIUS answered and said unto him, "I found "this Arian in the street (*or*, market), and I gave the

¹ Literally, "they are a mixture."

“right hand to God (*i. e.*, made a covenant with God),
“that I would minister unto him, [that] I might live
“because of him, and he because of me. And behold,
“I have ministered unto him for the last fifteen years,
“and now, after all these years he stirreth [himself] up
“against me, and causeth me tribulation, and I have
“had it in my mind to cast him out; therefore I have
“come unto thy holiness so that thou mayest advise
“me what I should do, and that thou mayest pray on
“my behalf, for I am greatly oppressed and am in sore
“straits.” Then ANTHONY said unto him angrily and
in a hard voice, “If thou sendest him away, He Who
“created him will not send him away; if thou dost cast
“him out, God, Who is better and more excellent than
“thou, will gather him [to Himself];” and when EULOGIUS
heard these words he set a bridle on his mouth and
was silent.

And having left EULOGIUS [ANTHONY] came to
chastise the Arian with his tongue, and he cried out
and said unto him, “O thou deformed Arian, thou art
“worthy neither of heaven nor of earth. Wilt thou
“not cease to contend against God? Knowest thou
“not that he who ministereth unto thee is Christ?
“How canst thou dare to utter these words against our
“Lord? Was it not for Christ’s sake that EULOGIUS
“gave himself to thy service?” Then having made
the man sorrowful he ceased from EULOGIUS and the
Arian, and spake unto all the brethren who were there,
unto every man according to his business. And he
called unto Eulogius and the Arian and said unto them,
“Turn ye not unto any [other] place, but depart and
“separate not yourselves from one another, and return
“ye to the cell wherein ye have lived so long a time,
“for behold, God will send upon you [your] end. And
“behold, this trial hath come upon you because the
“end of both of you is nigh, and because ye are
“esteemed worthy of crowns. Therefore do not ye
“act in a contrary manner, and let not the angel come

"after you and not find you in your place[s], [lest ye "be deprived of your crowns"]";¹ so the two of them departed and came to their cell. And in less than forty days [Page 242] EULOGIUS died, and in less than three days afterwards the Arian died. Now this KÛRÎNÔS (CRONIUS), who related unto us the narrative of this matter, tarried for a time in the monasteries which were in the Thebaïd, and he came down to the monasteries which were in Alexandria; and it happened that the brethren were gathered together commemorating the death of EULOGIUS after forty days, and the death of the Arian after three days.² And when KÛRÎNÔS (CRONIUS) heard he marvelled, and he took a Book of the Gospels, and set [it] down among the brotherhood, and then related what had happened; and he took an oath, and said, "In all this affair I was the "interpreter for Mâr Anthony because he did not know "Greek; but I know both languages, [and I acted as "interpreter for both sides, turning Greek into Egyptian "for EULOGIUS, and Egyptian into Greek for ANTHONY.]"³

HERE ENDETH THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORIES OF
THE HOLY FATHERS WHICH WERE COMPILED BY PALLADIUS.

¹ Adding from Bedjan ܡܠܬܝܡܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܝܡܡܝܢ.

² This appears to be the meaning of the text here.

³ Adding ܡܠܬܝܡܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܝܡܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܝܡܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܝܡܡܝܢ.

HERE BEGINNETH THE SECOND BOOK OF THE [HISTORIES
OF] THE FATHERS [AND] MONKS WHICH WERE
ALSO COMPILED BY PALLADIUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLESSED MAN MARK THE MOURNER.

MACARIUS the priest told us the following story:—
“At the time when I was administering the Holy Offer-
“ing I took good heed unto MARK¹ the mourner, and
“I never gave it to him, but an angel did so from the
“altar; I saw, however, the palm of the hand of the
“angel who gave it unto him.” Now this MARK was
a young man, and he could repeat by heart the New
and the Old Testaments; he was meek beyond measure,
and both in body and in thought he was purer than
many.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF MÂR PAULUS (PAULE), THE PRINCE OF
MONKS AND ANCHORITE.

Concerning ABBÂ PAULUS there were questions among
the monks and anchorites who were living in the land
of Egypt, and they asked who were the first monks

¹ The text has, but wrongly, “Macarius.”

[Page 243] who lived in the desert. And some of them remembered the saints of olden time, and said, "It hath been proved¹ that the first to dwell in the "desert were Saint ELIJAH the Prophet, and JOHN the "Baptist, and it is manifest that ELIJAH was immeasurably superior in ascetic excellence to the [other] monks, "and, moreover, JOHN was proclaimed in the womb to "be a prophet before he was born." Now there were many who contradicted this opinion, and who asserted with firmness that MÂR ANTHONY was the first and the prince of them all, and also of the order [of monks]; but if we wish to learn the whole truth we shall discover that it was not MÂR ANTHONY who was the first [monk] that dwelt in the desert, but the blessed man MÂR PAULUS. For I myself have seen the disciples of MÂR ANTHONY who buried him, and they it was who related unto us the history of the man PAULUS the anchorite, the Theban, who was indeed the first [monk to live] in the desert; therefore we believe that it was not the blessed man [ANTHONY] who was the first to do this, as some men say, but PAULUS, and for this reason I wish to narrate briefly the history of PAULUS the anchorite, and how he began and how he ended [his career] in the days of DECIUS and VALERIANUS the persecutors, and [how] CORNELIUS made an end of the strife of his testimony for the sake of the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ in Rome.

Now this blessed man PAULUS dwelt with his sister, who was the wife of a certain man; and their parents died and left them great riches when the blessed man PAULUS was sixteen years of age. And he had been educated in the learning of the Greeks and the Egyptians, and he was meek of soul, and he loved God thoroughly. And when the persecution of the Christians waxed strong, he remained continually in one place, and he took care of himself at all seasons (*or*, continually).

¹ Literally, "the beginning of the proof to dwell."

Now the avarice which constraineth the race of the children of men to commit evil deeds did not cease from him, for his sister's husband, instead of hiding him, (Page 244) endeavoured most strenuously to give him up [to the persecutors], and he neither had pity upon the tears of his wife nor did he fear the judgment of God; and he desisted not from this iniquitous conduct, but continued in his envy and sought always to give him up because he was a Christian. And the wise young man, having comprehended his guile and knowing that he was lying in wait for him, took to flight secretly, and he went to a certain high mountain which he found to be not what he desired,¹ and he changed his place [of abode] on account of the violence (*or*, necessity) of the persecution; but as he was living there, little by little he found out in the mountain a rock, wherein was a large cave, which was shut in with a stone, and having lifted up the stone he found within great repose, and he looked inside with great desire. And he discovered that the cave was clean, and that the dust of the ground also was fair, and he loved the place and dwelt there, and he gave thanks unto God Who had given it unto him for a dwelling-place; and he lived in that mountain all the days of his life, and his food and his raiment were made of the palm trees which were in the mountain. Now in order that no man may say, "How is this possible?" I take God and His holy angels to witness that we have seen many monks [living] in this fashion, and that they have brought their lives to an end in this way, and have not been afraid of Satan.

I must not, however, neglect the history of the blessed man PAULUS. This holy man lived a heavenly life upon the earth in love to our Lord for one hundred and thirteen years; and MÂR ANTHONY, who was ninety years old at the time, was living in

¹ Literally, "contrary to his will."

another desert. And MÂR ANTHONY on one occasion told me the following:—"I once thought within myself "that there was no man living beyond me in the desert, "and on the night wherein I pondered upon these things "in my mind, it was revealed unto me from God [by "one] who said unto me, 'Beyond thee [in the desert] "there is a man who is more excellent than thou art, "and it is meet that thou shouldst [go and] see him "with all diligence, and with great joy.'" And when the morning had come, [Page 245] the blessed old man MÂR ANTHONY took the palm branch whereon he leaned his weight, and he began to walk in the desert as his mind directed, because he did not know the way; and when it was noon, although the heat of the sun was fierce and burning, the blessed old man did not turn aside from the way, but he said, "I believe "that God will not withdraw [His] hands from me, but "will shew me His servant concerning whom He hath "sent me a revelation."

And as he was thinking thus about him he suddenly saw a man who possessed two natures, one half of him being that of a man, and the other half being that of a horse; now the poets call this being a "centaur."¹ Then the blessed ANTHONY called unto him and said, "I, a man of God, say unto thee, Where "dost thou dwell here?" And the creature returned him an answer in a barbarous language with words of impurity, and his mouth was full of fear; so the old man went on his journey seeking out the way. And as ANTHONY was marvelling [at this thing], the animal passed in front of him as if [it were going] to a broad field, and [ANTHONY knew that] it was Satan who had taken the form of the creature in order that he might terrify the blessed man, and he wondered at the similitude of the form which he had seen in the animal. And having passed on a little way further he saw

¹ ἡμιάνθρωπος = ἡμιἵππος = ἵπποκένταυρος.

another animal, which was smaller in stature than the first one, and he was standing on a rock, and he had horns upon his head and on his forehead; and when the blessed ANTHONY saw him, he put on the helmet of faith and [took the] shield of righteousness, and he asked him, "Who art thou whom I see here?" And the creature answered and said unto him, "I am a mortal "man and one of these who are in the desert, whom "the heathen call 'satyrs',¹ and whom, because of their "error concerning them, they worship as a god;" and the beast having spoken these words the old man ANTHONY went on his way, and his tears were flowing, and they ran down upon the ground, but he rejoiced because of the glory [Page 246] of Christ, and because of the destruction of Satan, and he wondered within himself how he had been able to understand the words of the animal. Then he smote the ground with his staff, and said, "Woe be to Alexandria! Woe be to the "city of the heathen, wherein are gathered together "all the devils of all creation!"

And ANTHONY went on his journey thinking anxiously [how] he could attain to the end thereof, and he wished to find the servant of God; and whilst he was meditating what he should do and where he should go, he observed on the flat surface of the desert the footprints of an animal which had passed over the spot that very day. Then he meditated within himself, saying, "It is impossible for our Lord to forsake me;" and he journeyed on his way during the night with his prayers in his mouth continually. And when the morning had come he saw a huge hyena, running with all its might up to the top of a mountain, and he followed in its footsteps, and having ascended the mountain he came nigh unto a cave, and saw the

¹ Mortalis ego sum, et unus ex accolis eremi, quos vario delusa errore gentilitas, Faunos Satyrosque et Incubos vocans, colit; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 18, col. 2.

hyena going into it; and he looked into the cave and saw perfect love, that is to say, MÂR PAULE, the old man. Then he cast away from him all fear and doubtful thoughts, and looking into the cave he saw that there was much light therein, and he approached the door of the cave, and knocked thereat with a small stone, but as soon as the blessed man PAULE heard the sound of the knocking he rolled the stone [down] quickly and closed the entrance of the cave. Then ANTHONY fell upon his face before the door of the cave, and besought him to let him come in, and said, "I am alone;" [and the blessed man PAULE answered and said, "Why hast thou come?"] And ANTHONY said, "I know that I am not worthy to see thee, "but since thou receivest wild beasts why dost thou "hold the children of men in abhorrence? I have sought "and have found [thee], and I knocked with confidence; "open thou then the door unto me. And if this "may not be I shall die here, and when thou seest "my dead body do thou bury it." And when with these words ANTHONY had taken up his position there the blessed man PAULE answered from within [Page 247], and said unto him, "No man who is angry cometh "[in here], and nō man entreateth [for admission] and "maketh accusations;" then he spake unto him words of gladness, and he opened unto him the door, and they met and embraced each other and kissed each other with holy kisses, and each man told his fellow his name.

Then after these things the blessed man PAULE made MÂR ANTHONY sit by his side, and he said unto him, "Why didst thou cast upon thyself all this tribulation, and the great labour of seeking to see an old "man whose body is altogether withered and emaciated? "After a short time thou wilt see that I have become "dust; but love overcometh all things. Tell me now "what is the present condition of the race of the "children of men, and whether they are still building

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"houses in the ancient cities, and whether there are
"still kings in the world, and whether the governors of
"the world are still in subjection to the error of devils."
And having said these things unto ANTHONY, the two
of them looked and they saw a raven sitting on the
branch of a tree, and straightway it stood up with
great quietness upon the branch, and it had in its
beak a whole loaf of bread which it came and laid
down between them, whilst both men were looking on;
and when the bird had departed they both marvelled.
And the blessed PAULE said unto MÂR ANTHONY,
"Truly our Lord is merciful and pitiful in that He
"sendeth us a meal [in this way]. For behold, for fully
"sixty years I have been in the habit of receiving from
"this bird half a loaf of bread [daily], but at thy coming,
"behold, our Lord hath sent unto us a double portion
"of food because we are His servants." Then having
given thanks unto God both men sat down at the
table, and they disputed with each other who should
first break the bread, and whilst they were thus dis-
puting the night came on; thereupon the two men
took [the bread], and spread out their hands, and brake
the loaf in the Name of our Lord, and ate it, and
having eaten they stood up the whole night in prayer.

Now when the morning [Page 248] had come,
PAULE said unto ANTHONY, "Thou must know, O my
"brother ANTHONY, that I have been living in the desert
"for a long time past, and that it was our Lord
"Himself Who revealed unto me what manner of man
"thou art; but, because the time of my rest hath
"come, and because that which I have been seeking,
"that is to say, that I should depart and be with
"our Lord, is about to overtake me [I could not go
"to see thee]. And now that my time hath come to
"an end, and, as I believe, a crown of righteousness
"hath been laid up for me, thou hast been sent by
"our Lord that thou mayest bury my body in the
"ground." Now whilst the blessed man PAULE was

saying these things, MÂR ANTHONY was weeping with many tears and heaving sighs, and he made supplication unto him, and said, "O my beloved one, leave thou me not here, but take me with thee whither thou goest;" and the blessed PAULE answered and said unto him, "It is not meet that thou shouldst seek thine own [advantage], but that of thy neighbours, and therefore, O my beloved, I beseech thee, if it be not a thing which is too hard for thee, to go quickly to thy monastery, and to bring hither to me the cloak which MÂR ATHANASIUS the Bishop gave thee." Now he did not speak thus because he had need of any apparel, but because he wished to depart from his body whilst MÂR ANTHONY was absent.

And when ANTHONY heard concerning the Bishop, and concerning his cloak he marvelled within himself; and having looked upon the blessed PAULE in our Lord Jesus, and bowed down before him, he prayed and set forth to go on his journey, and he approached and kissed him on his eyes and on his hands, and he made haste and went forth to depart to his monastery. And having made the journey and arrived at the monastery, his two disciples, who had been seeking him for a long time, met him, and they said unto him, "O father, where hast thou been these days?" And he answered and said unto them, "Woe be unto me! Woe be unto me, a sinner. For the name of 'Christian' which I bear is only a borrowed thing. This day have I seen ELIJAH and JOHN in the desert, for verily I have seen PAULE in Paradise, and he was holding converse with them;" and MÂR ANTHONY smote with his hand upon [Page 249] his breast, and he took the cloak and went from his disciples, who besought him to reveal unto them the whole matter. And he said unto them, "There is a time to be silent, and a time to speak;" so he departed and went forth on his way without taking any provision whatsoever with him. And he made haste to come to the place

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where the blessed man PAULE was, for he desired earnestly to see him, [again], and he was afraid lest whilst he was yet afar off PAULE might deliver himself up unto our Lord. And he journeyed on his way the first day, but on the second day, at the time of the ninth hour, he saw along the road, in the air, a company of angels, and a multitude of the Prophets and of the Apostles, and ABBÂ PAULE, who was shining with light like the sun, was in their midst, and he went up with them into heaven. And immediately he saw them, he fell upon his face on the ground, and he sighed, and wept, and cried out, and said, "O "fearer of God, why hast thou left me thus? And "why didst thou not receive my salutation together "with all [the toil of] this journey which I have made "as swiftly as a bird?"

And MÂR ANTHONY went on his way and arrived at the cave, and he saw ABBÂ PAULE kneeling upon his knees, with his face¹ gazing into heaven and his hands spread out; and seeing him thus MÂR ANTHONY thought within himself, and said, "Perhaps he is alive;" and he prayed fervently, and the blessed PAULE also stood up and prayed with him. And when some time had elapsed, and he heard neither the sound[s] nor the sighs which are customary in prayer, he knew that it was only the body of ABBÂ PAULE which prayed; and he bowed down before God, in Whom everything liveth, and he placed the body in the middle of the cloak and wrapped it in it, and he took it up upon his shoulders; and though he sang Psalms, according to the custom of the monks, the blessed ANTHONY was greatly grieved because he had not remembered to bring with him a spade or some other instrument wherewith to dig a grave for the body. Then he meditated within himself and said, "What shall I do? If I go to my "monastery and bring a spade I cannot possibly return

¹ Literally, "head."

"here in less than four days;" [Page 250] and he said, "O Jesus Christ, let me also die with Thy beloved "servant PAULE."

Now as he was saying these things, behold, two lions came running along together, and when he saw them his whole body smoked with fear; and when he had lifted up his mind to God and had looked at them again, they appeared to be doves flying through the air. And the lions drew nigh and stood near the body of the blessed PAULE, and they wagged their tails at the blessed ANTHONY, and they crouched down before him in perfect tameness, and they rubbed their teeth together and purred so loudly that the blessed man knew that they wished to be blessed, and to be helped, and that they desired [to know] concerning the departure of the blessed PAULE. And after they had acted thus, the lions began to dig [a grave], and they threw up the earth with their paws, and they made the hole in the ground deep enough, and wide enough, and long enough, according to the measure of the body; and they lowered their ears and their tails, and bowed down their heads before Abbà ANTHONY, and they licked his hands and his feet, and he knew that they wished to be blessed. Then he gave thanks for the glory of God because that even the wild and savage beasts knew how to [help] the good and chosen men of God, and he spake thus:—"O Lord God, without Whose "command not one leaf falleth to the ground, and "against Whose Will not one bird droppeth into the "snare, do Thou bless all of us." And he brought his hand nigh unto the lions, and commanded them to depart; and when the two lions had gone away ANTHONY took the body and buried it in the customary way. Then, after one day, he took the tunic of ABBÀ PAULE, which was made of palm leaves sewn together, like a true inheritance and a thing which brought privilege, and departed to his monastery. And when he had arrived there he related unto the monks the

whole matter in due order; and on the feast of unleavened bread and at Pentecost SAINT ANTHONY used to put on the tunic of the blessed [Page 251] and holy man PAULE, and he would pray with it upon him.

And I, HIERONYMUS the sinner, entreat all those who read this book to pray for me.

[Concerning¹ these histories of PAULE, and of the company of MARK(?), and of Macarius, there are some who say that they were compiled by HIERONYMUS because his name occurs at the end of them.]

HERE ENDETH THE HISTORY OF MÂR PAULE, THE HOLY MAN, THE FIRSTBORN OF ALL THE DESERT MONKS.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRIUMPH OF A YOUNG MAN WHO WAS AN ALEXANDRIAN.

There was a certain young man in Alexandria, who, immediately the law of nature began to work in him, and to make him to possess the knowledge which distinguisheth good from evil, endeavoured by every means in his power to make himself wholly a stranger unto things which are evil, and to cleave unto those which are good. And having been trained for a long time, and having made himself proficient in the things which befit monks, even though he still lived and went about in the city, he at a certain time thought within himself, and said, "Since there is no good reason whatsoever which compelleth me forcibly to remain in the city any longer it is not right that I should do so," and he was at all times reminding himself of the word which was spoken by our Lord to the rich man, "If thou wishest to be perfect, go and sell all that thou

¹ This is a note by some editor of Palladius, or scribe.

"hast and give [it] to the poor, and take thy cross "and come after Me."¹ And the young man said, "The word of our Lord is true, but it is impossible for a man to acquire that perfection of which He spake "whilst he is living among men."

When then he had made himself ready to perform in very deed this great thought, [Page 252] he began to journey along the road which leadeth to one of the deserts of Alexandria, where large numbers of monks used to dwell, and he offered up prayer unto God that He would prepare a way for him, and would direct him unto a man who would be able to help him [to attain] his object, and would lead him to the end which he desired. And he decided within himself, and said, "This shall be unto me a sign that the Lord "hath prepared His way before me:—The door whereat "I shall knock, and wherefrom shall go forth one who "liveth there, and shall receive me in peace, and shall "urge me to go in to him, and shall receive me in "the love which monks have for strangers, that shall "be the place, and that shall be the man whom the "Lord hath prepared for the fulfilment of my thoughts "concerning spiritual excellence." And he said, "Unto "the man who hath been prepared by the Lord it is "meet for me to be in subjection as unto Christ, and "I must hearken unto his command willingly and un-"hesitatingly as unto that of Christ." Now as he was praying with these words, and with others which were like unto them, and was thinking deeply, he arrived in the desert into which he had set his face to go. And having gone in among the monasteries, he found himself by the dispensation of God before the door of a habitation wherein a certain old man dwelt; and when, according to his expectation, he had drawn nigh, and had knocked at the door which was in front of him, there came forth therefrom straightway the old

¹ St. Matthew XIX. 21.

man who dwelt inside, and opened the door to him; and when he saw the young man who was standing there he saluted him gladly, when as yet he had asked him nothing whatsoever, and entreated him urgently to come inside. And this actually took place.

Now after he had gone in and had, according to custom, prayed, and sat down, the young man compared the things which had taken place with those which he had written down in his mind, and he waited for a right issue to all [the rest]. Then, being full of gladness, the old man urged him repeatedly to partake of food, but the young man answered and said unto him [Page 253], "My lord, I beseech thy holiness to "permit me first of all to speak openly, and to make "known to thy fatherly nature the reason of my coming, "and if through the working of God thou wilt make "thyself the perfecter of my desire, and of my thoughts, "whatsoever thy holiness and thy meekness shall command me [to do] I will perform strenuously." Now when the old man had heard these things, he answered and said unto him, "Thou hast full power to say everything which thou wishest, joyfully and fearlessly, as "unto thy father who, according to his power, in great "love, is ready to fulfil thy desire by the help of God." Then, after these words, which the old man spake in simplicity (now none of the thoughts of the young man had entered into his mind), the young man made clearly manifest before the old man the matters which he had marked out and decided upon in his mind from the beginning of his actions in the city even until that very hour.

And when the old man had heard all these things he was greatly moved and disturbed, because he remembered his own former acts and life, and because he was held in contempt by his conscience by reason of the conditions and circumstances under which he was then living, and because that by reason of these he was unable to promise to fulfil the works of which he

had [then] no knowledge whatsoever, [and he was afraid]¹ and excused himself from the task. And when he considered his own feebleness, and the greatness of the matter concerned, and the strenuousness and readiness of the young man, and the many other reasons which he called to mind, he was ashamed to reveal to the young man the true reason for his refusal, yet nevertheless, because of it, he said that he was unable to act [for him]; but the young man dismissed his objections and made an end of them, and he shewed [him] that they all were insufficient to drive him away from the old man, and to do away the fervent desire and aim which were in his mind. Then the old man felt compelled to make plainly manifest before him the true reason for his refusal [Page 254], and to shew him that it was not a mere matter of a report of words, but one which could be seen by the actual sight of the eyes. And wishing to fulfil his intention [of shewing] that the true reason was not a mere excuse, or one which was fabricated like those which he had previously given, and that it was indeed a true one, and one which would proclaim concerning itself openly, he took the young man by the hand, and led him into a certain chamber wherein dwelt the wife of that old man with her two children, and he said unto him, "God hath sent thee hither for my "shame, and for the condemnation of mine old age. "Behold, this is my wife whom Satan and not God hath "given unto me, and behold, these are the children of "shame whom I have had by her, and they are the "fruits of a contemptible and damnable union."

Now when the young man saw and heard these things, because the foundation of his building was laid upon the rock of truth, he was neither moved nor disturbed, and he was not offended with the old man, and he did not hold him in any contempt whatsoever.

¹ Adding ١٥٥٥.

And after these things the young man answered and said unto the old man, "My lord, I entreat thy holiness "to confirm that which I am about to say unto thee. "Let me have with thee, even as with a real father, "a wholly perfect understanding, such as it is right for "children to have with their fathers and with their "brethren, which shall be free, by the help of God, "from all stumblingblocks; and let me have the same "understanding with this woman, as with a real mother, "and with thy children as with beloved brethren." Thus the old man was overcome by means of all these words by a gracious defeat, and though he wished by the urging of his own mind to give the young man permission to live with him as a disciple, and to fulfil his desire according to the bent of his mind, he was driven thereto far more by the power of the excellence of the young man himself. And when these things had taken place they gave thanks to God, and then they occupied themselves, each one with the service and work which were requisite for their habitation, day by day with the help of God [Page 255], and the young man excelled in works towards the old man, according to his promise, in humility, and in great obedience, and the spiritual excellence of his mind was greatly revealed.

One day the old man said unto the young man, "My son, knowest thou that thou and I are building "this house with weariness and abundant toil, and that "we have not sufficient reeds [to make] the roof, and "that the winter hath drawn nigh? Now, in order that "our labour may not be in vain, behold, I see that "there are reeds in the habitation of the monk who "is our neighbour, and since he is not there that we "may borrow from him, and supply our need, do thou "go down and take up from there a bundle, and bring "[it hither], so that we may finish the roof, and may "rejoice through his forethought." And when the brother heard this, he made ready quickly to fulfil the

command of the old man, and having gone down and brought that which was necessary for them, they completed their work. Then the old man said unto that brother, "Tell me truly, O brother, what didst thou think in thy mind about that which I said unto thee, that is to say, that thou shouldst go down, and shouldst bring reeds as it were by theft, and without the knowledge and during the absence of their owner?" And that brother said [unto him], "As I have already told thee, everything that thou shalt say unto me I shall receive as if it came from the mouth of Christ, and shall perform it in faith unhesitatingly. I said within myself, 'Christ said unto me, Thou shalt not steal, but now it is He Who hath just said unto me, 'Steal; I have nothing to do with the matter, and it is Christ unto Whom I must render obedience.'"

And when the old man had heard these words he marvelled at the wisdom and at the integrity of his obedience; and wishing to make him to rejoice in his hope, he said unto him, "My son, thou must know that I had made up my mind that we must tell the owner of the reeds [what I had done], and must give him whatever price he might require, [when] I sent thee [Page 256] down to bring up that which belonged to him, and I did not do so with the abominable intention of stealing [from him]."

And after a certain time, during which the two men had lived together a correct life which was full of peace and profit, the old man thought within himself, saying, "It is a great iniquity on my part, and it meriteth a severe penalty, that I who have grown old in sins, and who am still in the mire of fornication, should dwell with this brother who is perfect in spiritual excellence; for it is not seemly that darkness should live with light. But I will leave [this] abode in his hands, and I will take away this stumblingblock

* Read جذب.

"which Satan hath set in my way, and these fruits of shame which have come to me from her, and I will go to the world and unto those whom I resemble, whose works are like unto mine own."

And when he had meditated with these and such like thoughts, and had made them known unto the woman who dwelt with him, he sent to the village which was nigh unto them, and brought from thence an animal to take away that which he needed from the monastery, so that he might lead away his wife and his children, and he might go and live in one of the villages round about them. And when the animal had come, and the old man had loaded him with whatsoever they needed, and he, and his wife, and his sons began to go forth, he said unto that brother, "My son, we are not able to dwell in a monastery because our sins are many, and because we are not worthy so to do; for it is great wickedness for us to dwell under the cloak of falsehood among monks, whilst our deeds are more evil than those of the folk who are in the world. But do thou remain in this dwelling, O my son, and the God Whom thou hast loved, and Whom thou hast made plans to please in everything, shall be unto thee a father, and a fellow monk;¹ and do thou pray on my behalf that the Lord may visit me." And when that brother had heard these words, he answered and said unto the old man with love and great humility, "O my father, I have made a covenant with the Lord that I will not be separated from thee except by death, and inasmuch as [Page 257] my dwelling with thee hath been unto me a source of great benefit, there is nothing which can remove me and take me away from thee; but wheresoever thou goest I will go, and wheresoever thou dwellest I will dwell with thee."

Then after all these things the old man came to himself, and he sighed greatly, saying, "Verily, this is

¹ Literally, "son of the monastery."

"a matter which can only have come from God, the "Merciful, Who desireth not the death of a sinner, but "that he may turn to Him and live, and He it is Who "hath remembered my former works, and hath not left "me to perish utterly, but hath sent this young man "unto me that He might again turn me unto Him." Then the old man found himself able by means of words, which were full of strong entreaty, to persuade the woman to take her daughter with her, and to go and dwell in one of the abodes of women which existed in the villages round about them. And this actually came to pass. And after the old man had remained there with his son, and with that excellent disciple, he began to remember his former life and to renew the habits thereof, and he excelled greatly in the cultivation of all kinds of spiritual excellences, and he gave thanks unto God unceasingly, that by means of the young man He had made him worthy of the end of peace. And he was always saying, "Truly "obedience for the sake of God not only greatly helpeth "those who possess it, but it greatly gratifieth God "also, and it is found by others to be the cause of life, "and it tormenteth Satan sorely; on the other hand, "disobedience worketh that which is contrary to all "these things." So after a long time that old man died in peace, being worthy of the great measure [of reward] of his fathers, and he departed from the world, and left behind him as upright heirs of his spiritual excellences and of his monastery his spiritual son, and the son who was his according to the body and the spirit; may our Lord through their prayers make us worthy of their spiritual excellence and their inheritance! Amen and Amen [Page 258].

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DISCIPLE OF A CERTAIN OLD MAN
WHO WAS IN SCETE.

There was a certain old man who used to live in the desert which is called SCETE, and he had a disciple who lived with him; now this [latter] brother was adorned with the spiritual excellences of every kind which befit those who are in subjection to old men, and he was exceedingly conspicuous for his obedience, which was the greatest of all his virtues. And he was sent to the village continually by the old man to sell their work, and to bring back whatsoever was needed for their habitation, and that brother, without any compulsion whatsoever, performed every command which the old man gave him with zeal and diligence. Now when the enemy of righteousness, the Foe of the human race, and especially of the orders of the monks, that is to say, Satan, the opponent of all virtues and the hater of the upright life of the children of men, saw that this brother was overcoming and bringing to nought all his crafty designs by the might of his simple obedience, which was full of discretion, he made a plan to lay two snares for him in the path of his spiritual excellence, even as it is said concerning him in the Psalm, as it were by the mouth¹ of those who cultivate spiritual excellence, and who walk in the way of righteousness, "In the way of my steps they have hidden snares "for me."² Now the two snares were these:—The first consisted in making that brother to pursue fornication, and the second was in making him to fall into disobedience; and the Enemy, in his cunning, expected that the brother would not only be caught by one of

¹ Read *هو الذي*.

² Psalm CXLII. 3.

these, and so become involved in both, but also that deliverance from the one would be found to be the occasion for his falling into the other, for he saw that he was being sent continually to Egypt by his master [on the business] of the work of their hands and of the matter of their need.

And one day, when that brother was carrying on his shoulders something which he wished to sell, and was going about in the market [Page 259] of the village according to his wont, it happened that owing to the sight of a woman, who was a virgin, and who was continually coming in his way, and who bought from him some of the wares which he carried, that the war of fornication rose up against him suddenly by the operation of the Evil One. Now when this thing had thus come to pass the evil cunning of the Devil did not wander from that discreet brother, but he meditated within himself, and said, "Both matters "are exceedingly difficult for me. Peradventure, if "through some reason such as this which the Enemy "hath prepared for me, I reject the command of the "old man, and do not go up [to him], I shall always "be in the habit [of thinking] that I have treated the "command of the old man with contempt; and if I do "go up [to him] I shall be oppressed for a very long "time with the war of fornication."

And when that brother had passed much time in tribulation, and in such thoughts as these, and in doubts of mind, and still did not know which course of action to choose and which to reject, he drew nigh unto a certain old man who dwelt close by them, and was great and skilled in all [such matters], and made known his business unto him, and spake unto him thus:—"Father, what shall I do, for the war of fornication "hath risen up against me? My father sendeth me "always to the village for that which we need, and "every time I go to the village I am vexed with "thoughts about fornication, through which I am thrown

“into a strife, and I know not what to do; if I obey
 “my father, and go to the village, the war which is
 “stirred up against me will become fiercer, and if I
 “remain here and do not go I shall be a disobedient
 “[disciple]. I beseech thee to give me the advice
 “which shall be beneficial for me, and pray thou on
 “my behalf, for I am greatly vexed.” And when the
 old man had heard these words, he answered and said
 unto him, “My son, if I were thou¹ I should, with God’s
 “help, obey my father, [and should overcome the war
 “of fornication].”² Then that brother said unto him,
 “I beseech thee, O my lord, to perform an act of grace,
 “and [Page 260] teach thou me the object of this
 “conquest, and help me with thy prayers.” Then the
 old man said unto him, “Know, O my brother, that
 “Satan is not so anxious to cast thee into fornication
 “as he is to dismiss thee from obedience, and to make
 “thee disobedient and rebellious, and he plotteth always
 “with exceedingly great care to make thee thus; for
 “Satan himself hath been acquainted with disobedience
 “from the beginning and he knoweth that it is the
 “cause of every kind of condemnation and of wicked-
 “ness to those who possess it. And, O my son, let
 “it be certain to thee that, if he vanquish thee by
 “means of it, thou wilt be, as it were, stripped hence-
 “forth of the help of the power of obedience, and of
 “thy father’s prayers, whensoever he casteth thee into
 “the passion of fornication, and he will be able to drag
 “thee down into passions of all kinds easily. But if
 “thou dost vanquish him first of all in the matter of
 “obedience, and dost thyself abide therein undoubtingly,
 “and dost believe in the prayers of thy father, God
 “will make thee to prosper in every strife with a crown
 “of righteousness, and He will give thee victory in
 “every war with the Calumniator. For he, who for

¹ B has ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ.

² B adds ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ.

"the sake of God acteth in obedience to his father
"also acteth obediently unto God; now obedience unto
"God is the victory over all passions. Go therefore,
"O my son, and obey thy father faithfully and un-
"hesitatingly, and when the war cometh upon thee say
"thus:—'O God of my father, help me!'"

Now when the Adversary saw that that brother was armed with the wise and powerful words of the old man as with an impregnable coat of mail, and had prepared himself strenuously for the contest, he changed the method of attack which he had formerly employed, and instead of vexing that brother with thoughts about the woman as he had done at first, he left him, since he was prepared and was sufficiently strong to stand up against him, and went to the feeble woman who lacked both discernment and help—for it hath been his custom always to run to the weak and sluggish side of disciples, [Page 261] and to overcome the strenuous by means of it—and as he overcame ADAM by means of EVE, and as he overcame other [saints] by means of other things, even so did he act towards this marvellous brother who, through this cunning, gained condemnation and shame, even as did JOB, and JOSEPH, and others.

Now therefore when this brother according to custom had taken his work, and had readily gone up to Egypt, and had arrived at the village wherein he was wont to sell it, Satan stirred up that woman to go forth to meet him as it were by chance, and having seen that brother and being inflamed through the operation of Satan with the fire of love for him, she drew nigh unto him by means of some crafty device, and took him and brought him into her house, with the excuse that she was going to buy something from him; and after they had gone in, and she had shut the door upon them, she began to throw herself upon him. Then that brother, with faith wherein there was no doubt, cried out with a loud voice, and said, "O God of my

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"father, help me!" And immediately, by the agency of God, he found himself upon the road to Scete, and by the Divine help the Calumniator was put to shame, and the war of fornication ceased from that brother. And when he had come to the old man with whom he lived, and he had narrated to him the whole matter, and what had happened, they gave thanks to God and glorified Him Who had hearkened unto the voice of His servants and had redeemed them out of the hand of their enemies, and had saved them from the snares of the Calumniator. May our Lord hide us beneath the wings of His mercifulness and [save] us from all the evil workings of the Calumniator! Amen.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DISCIPLE OF ANOTHER OLD MAN WHO DWELT ALONE IN A CELL.

One of the aged men said:—I have heard from certain holy men that there have been youths who [Page 262] have led and guided old men to life, and they told me the following story:—There was a certain old man who used to plait mats of palm leaves by day, and sell them in the village [in the night], and get drunk on the money which he received for the same. At length there came a certain brother who took up his abode with him, and he also worked at the plaiting of mats by day, and the old man took his work also, and sold it, and got drunk with the money which he received for the work of both, and he would bring home at eventide a little bread for that brother; and though the old man did thus for a period of three years the brother said nothing to him about it. And after these things the brother said within himself, "Behold, I am naked, and I only eat my

"bread by forcing myself to do so; I will therefore arise
"and depart from this place." But again he thought within
himself, saying, "Whither have I to go? I will stay here
"a little longer, for I can live unto God just as well
"as if I were in a monastery where many monks are."
And straightway the angel of the Lord appeared and
said unto him, "Depart thou not unto any [other] place,
"for to-morrow we are coming unto thee." Then that
brother made supplication unto the old man, and
entreated him, saying, "I beseech thee, O my father,
"not to go forth this day to any place whatsoever,
"for the angels are coming to receive my soul." When
now the hour had arrived for the old man to go out
and sell [the work] according to his wont, he said
unto the brother, "My son, they will not come to-day,
"for they have delayed too long;" but the brother
said, "Yea, my father, indeed they will come;" and
whilst he was talking to the old man he died. And
when the old man saw what had happened, he wept
and sighed deeply, and said, "Woe is me! Woe is me,
"O my son! I have lived in faith for many years, but
"thou hast gained life for thyself through a short period
"of patient endurance!" and from that day forward the
old man led a life of sobriety and became a chosen
monk [Page 263].

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DISCIPLE OF AN OLD MAN IN THE DESERT.

There was a certain desert monk who was very
anxious to find a quiet place which would be suitable
for him to dwell in; and there was there a certain
old man who had a cell nigh unto him, and he entreated
him, saying, "Come, take up thine abode here until

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"thou canst find a cell [suitable for thee," and he went [there]. Now the brethren used to come unto him as unto a stranger, and they brought him food in order that they might be helped [by so doing], and he rejoiced in them, and gave them relief. Then the old man began to envy him, and to heap abuse on him, saying, "Behold, how many are the years wherein I 'have lived here in the strictest abstinence, and yet 'no man came unto me; yet unto this deceiver, who 'hath only passed a few days here, many come!" And this old man said unto his disciple, "Go and say unto 'him, 'Depart from that place, for I have need both "'of the place and of the cell.'" And his disciple went, and said unto him, "My father,¹ speak some words, and "pray thou for me because I am greatly vexed by my "stomach;" then he came to his master, and said unto him, "He said unto me, 'I see a cell and I am going "forth.'"

And after two days the old man sent his disciple unto him again, and he said unto him, "If thou hast "not departed, I will come myself and drive thee out "with a stick." And the disciple came to the monk, and said unto him, "My father hath heard that thou "art sick, and he is greatly grieved, and he hath sent "me to visit thee;" and the monk said unto him, "Through thy prayers [all is] well." And the disciple came, and said to his master, "I have spoken to him, "and he said unto me, 'Wait until the first day of the "'week, and I will, by the Will of God, go forth.'" And when the first day of the week had come, the monk had not departed, and the old man took a stick and was going forth to beat him, and to drive him out; but his disciple said unto him, "Let me go first, lest "there be there some stranger who will be offended "at thine act." And having gone before his master

¹ Literally, "My father, speak from thy voice;" but the text is probably corrupt here.

the disciple said unto the monk, "Behold, my father hath come to entreat thee [to leave. Page 264] and "to take thee to his cell;" and when the monk heard of the old man's love he made haste to go out to meet him, and he expressed his sorrow afar off, and said, "Be not vexed, O my lord and father, for I was coming to thy holiness; forgive me for the sake of Jesus." And God saw the work of that disciple, and he opened the mind of the old man, and he threw away his stick and ran to salute the monk; and having drawn nigh unto him he gave him the salutation of peace, and took him into his cell. Now the stranger had heard nothing whatsoever of the words which had been said by the old man. Then the old man said unto his disciple, "Peradventure thou didst say¹ unto the monk that which I said unto thee?" And the disciple said unto him, "Nay, father, I did not;" and the old man rejoiced greatly, and he brought him in to the stranger, and treated him kindly. And the old man knew that what had taken place in him had been caused by the working of Satan, and he fell down before his disciple, and said, "Henceforward thou shalt be my father, and I will be thy disciple, for through thy good works, after God, thou hast helped the souls of two [men]."

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRIUMPH OF PETER, THE DISCIPLE OF ONE OF THE OLD MEN.

There was a certain old man who had an excellent disciple, and on one occasion the old man by reason of his hasty temper drove him away, and turned him

¹ Read *أخبرني*.

outside the door, and his apparel with him; and the brother sat down outside the door and waited patiently, and when the old man opened the door he found him sitting outside. Then the old man repented, saying, "O PETER, the meekness of thy longsuffering nature hath vanquished my hasty temper; henceforward thou shalt be my old man and father, and I will be thy servant and disciple. By thy good work thou hast made (*or*, fashioned) mine old age."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TRIUMPH OF A DISCIPLE OF ONE OF THE OLD MEN.

On a certain occasion the disciple of a great sage (*i. e.*, old man) had a war of fornication, [Page 265] and when the old man saw that the brother was vexed and oppressed in his mind, he said to him, "Dost thou wish me to entreat God to make the war less fierce?" And the brother said, "Father, I perceive that, although I toil and am afflicted, I am yet able to see the fruit which I possess within my soul through this strife, [therefore pray not for this thing]; but entreat God especially in thy prayer to give me strength to endure." His father said unto him, "This day I know that thou hast surpassed me therein."

CHAPTER IX.

OF AURELIUS [ADOLIUS?]

I used to know a man in Jerusalem whose name was AURELIUS [ADOLIUS?], and by race (*or*, origin) he came from the city of Tarsus, and when this man

arrived in Jerusalem, he walked wholly in the path wherein are no stumblings, and wherein many have not walked. Now he laid down for himself ascetic rules of life of new kinds, and [these were so severe] that the devils were afraid of him, and they were unable to stand up before him, and by reason of the greatness¹ of his toil he might have been thought to be a shadow, for he would pass the whole weeks of the Forty Days in fasting,² and he would spend the other days in constant vigils. Now the greatest of all his acts of asceticism was this. Whilst the brethren were gathered together each evening in the house of prayer, he would go up to the highest peak of the MOUNT OF OLIVES, to the place where our Lord was lifted up, and as he stood there upon his feet he would recite the whole Office, and whether rain, or snow, or sleet fell he would never leave his place; and when he had finished the Office according to [his] custom, he would take a hammer and beat [a board], and rouse up those that slept, and having gone round to the doors of all [the monks] [Page 266], he would gather them together to the places for prayer, and in each place he would recite the Office with them; and he would also stand up in the midst of companies [of monks], and would recite the Office. In the day time he would go to his cell, and in very truth on several occasions his brethren had to strip off [his clothes] from him because they were wet through, and to put others on him; and he would rest until the third hour of the day, and then he would come to the service [in the church and stay] until the evening. Such was the manner in which Aurelius lived, and in this way he brought his life to an end; and he was buried in Jerusalem.

¹ The text has *ἄσπετος*, but this word makes no sense here.

² This seems to be the meaning of the passage, for the writer can hardly intend to say that Aurelius fasted for forty weeks.

CHAPTER X.

OF ABBÂ MOSES THE INDIAN, [A CAPTAIN] OF THIEVES.

Now there was a certain man whose name was MOSES, who was by race an Indian,¹ and his skin² was black, and he was the slave of a man in high authority,³ and because of his evil deeds and thefts his master drove him out of his house; now it is said that he even went so far as [to commit] murder. Now I am compelled to mention his wickedness in order that I may shew forth the beauty of his repentance, and people say concerning him that he was even the captain of a band of seventy thieves. And the following thing used to be related about him, and he is said to have committed it during the period wherein he passed his time in stealing.

He had as an enemy a certain shepherd, against whom he remembered certain evil things, and he went to steal [sheep] from his flock. And the shepherd was told by a certain man, [who said], "MOSES hath 'crossed the Nile by swimming, and he holdeth a 'sword in his hand,⁴ and his clothes are placed on his 'head; and he hath crossed the river by swimming;" and the shepherd covered himself over with sand, and hid from him. And when MOSES had come and did not find the shepherd, he chose out two fine rams from among the sheep and slew them, and he tied them [together] with a rope, and swam across the river again [with them]; and having come to a small village he skinned the rams and ate the best portions of them, and [Page 267] he sold the remainder for wine, and drank, and after these things he went back to his

¹ *I. e.*, an Ethiopian.

² Literally, "flesh."

³ Gr. πολιτευομένου τινός.

⁴ B has "in his mouth," *ἔχει ἐν τῷ στόματι*.

companions. One day whilst he was associated with them in doing hateful things, his senses came back¹ to him in the morning season, and he repented of his evil acts, and he rose up and fled to a monastery, and from that time he drew nigh unto works of repentance so closely that the devil who had made him sin from his youth up, and [who would have continued] to make him sin, would stand before him in visible form and would look upon him. Thus he came to the knowledge of our Lord Christ.

And about him they tell the story that thieves once came unto him and went into his cell, because they did not know who he was, and he tied them all together with cords and lifted them up upon his shoulders like a bag of chopped straw, and brought them to the church to the brethren, and said unto them, "Since I have not the power to do evil unto any man, what do ye command me to do to those who rose up against me to slay me?" Now at that time MOSES had been fasting for seven days, and he had eaten nothing. And after he had done this he informed the thieves, saying, "I indeed am MOSES who was formerly the captain of [a band of] thieves;" and having heard [this] they praised and glorified God, and when they saw [the sincerity of] his repentance they also removed themselves from their evil deeds, and said within themselves, "Let us also draw nigh unto repentance, so that we may become worthy of the forgiveness of sins, even as he also is worthy."

And whilst fasting often, and during the time of prayer and silent contemplation, that devil of error, who bringeth back to the remembrance of the mind the wickedness of former habits, would come to him, and tempt him to such a degree that, even as he himself hath told us, it wanted exceedingly little to make him fall from his covenant. And having come

¹ Literally, "his mind fell upon him."

to the old man ISIDORE the great, who had arrived from Scete, MOSES told him concerning the war of his body; [Page 268] and the old man said unto him, "Be not distressed, for these are the beginning of the birth pangs, and they come upon thee seeking what they are accustomed¹ [to receive], even as a dog which [cometh] continually to the cook, and if a man give him nothing he will not go there again. And thus also it is with thee, for if thou wilt continue in fasting, and in prayer, and in silent contemplation, the devil will straightway fall into despair and will flee from thee."

And from that time he was exceedingly constant in his work of spiritual excellence. He ate nothing whatsoever except ten ounces of dry bread [daily] when he was doing work, and he would recite from beginning to end fifty prayers during the day; but the more he dried up his body, the more² he was vexed and consumed by dreams. And again he went to one of the old men, and said unto him, "What shall I do? For thoughts of lust which arise from [my] former habits attack me;" and the old man said unto him, "These lead thee into error because thou hast not turned away thy heart from the similitudes of them, but give thy heart to watching and careful prayer, and thou wilt be free from them." Now when he had heard this direction he went to his cell, and made a covenant with God that he would neither sleep during the whole night nor bend his knees, and he dwelt in his cell for seven years, and remained standing the whole of each night with his eyes open, and he never closed his eyelids. And after this he set himself other ascetic labours, for he would go out during the nights and visit the cells of the old men, and take their water skins and fill them with water, because

¹ Read ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ.

² Read ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ.

they lived a long way from the water, that is to say, some two miles, some four miles, and others five miles. One night he went to fill the [water skins with] water, according to his wont, and as soon as he had bent down over the spring, a devil smote him a blow across his loins as with a stick, and then departed leaving him half dead, and MOSES understood [Page 269] who had done this thing to him. And on the following day one of the brethren came to fill [the water skins with] water, and he saw the blessed man lying there, and he drew nigh to him and asked him, "What hath "happened unto thee?" And when MOSES had told him the story, the brother went and informed RABBÂ ISIDORE, the priest of the church of Scete, who sent brethren immediately and they took him up and brought him to the church; and he was ill for a long time, and he never thoroughly recovered from his illness, and he never again enjoyed the health of body which he had possessed formerly.


And ABBÂ ISIDORE said unto him, "Rest thyself, O "MOSES, and fret not thyself against the devils, and "seek not to make attacks upon them; there is moderation in everything, even in the works of ascetic "life." Then MOSES said unto him, "I believe in God, "in Whom I have placed my hope, that being armed "against the devils I must not cease [to wage war "with them] until they depart from me." And ABBÂ ISIDORE said unto him, "In the Name of Jesus Christ, "from this time forward the devils shall cease from "thee. Draw nigh then, and participate in the Holy "Mysteries, and thou shalt be free from all impurity "both of the flesh and of the spirit, for thou must "not boast within thyself, and say, 'I have overcome "the devils,' for it was for thy benefit that they have "waxed strong against thee." So MOSES went back again to his cell. And after two months ABBÂ ISIDORE came to him, and asked him [concerning himself], and MOSES said unto him, "I never see now anything which

"is hateful to me." Now he was also held to be worthy of the gift of Divine Grace, and he could chase away the devils from many folk who were vexed therewith, and as flies take to flight before us so did the devils depart from before him. Such were the ascetic labours of the blessed man MOSES, who was himself vexed with great matters. And he also became a priest, and he left behind him seventy disciples who were men of worth. When [Page 270] he was a thief he had [as followers] seventy men who were thieves, and these now became his disciples, and they were perfect in the fear of God.

CHAPTER XI.

OF ABBÂ PÎÔR.¹

And there was an Egyptian youth whose name was PÎÔR, and he was a holy man; and when he departed from the house of his parents he made a covenant with God with the zeal² of excellence that he would never see again any of his kinsfolk. And after fifty years had passed, the sister of this blessed man, who was very old and grey, heard that he was alive, and she greatly desired to see him; now she was unable to come to him to the desert, and she besought the Bishop, who was in that country, to write to the fathers who lived in the desert [telling] them to urge him, and to send him to see his sister. Then when the blessed man saw the pressure which came from them to make him go, he took with him certain of the brethren, and set out to go on the journey, and

¹ Read .

² Pîôr =     PA-UR (?)

[having arrived] he sent and informed his sister's household, saying, "Behold, PÎÔR thy brother hath come, "and he standeth outside." Now when his sister heard his voice, she went forth in great haste, and when PÎÔR heard the sound of the door, and knew that the aged woman his sister was coming forth to see him, he shut his eyes tightly, and said, "So and so, I am "thy brother; look at me as far as thou canst' do so;" and having seen him she was relieved (*or*, gratified) in her mind, and gave thanks unto God, but she was unable to persuade him to enter into her house. And he made a prayer by the side of the door with his eyes closed tightly, and departed to the desert.

And he also wrought the following wonderful thing:— In the place where he lived he dug a hole in the ground, and found water which was bitter [in taste], but until the day wherein he died he endured the bitter taste of the water, in order that he might make known that which he suffered patiently for the sake of God. Now after his death [Page 271] many of the monks wished to abide in that place, but they were not able to do so, even for one year, chiefly because of the terrible nature of the country and the barrenness thereof.

CHAPTER XII.

OF ABBÂ MOSES THE LIBYAN.

There was also another old man whose name was MOSES, who came from the country of the LIBYANS; he was exceedingly meek and compassionate, and through this was held to be worthy of the gift of healing. And this old man himself related unto us the following story, and said:—When I was a young man and

¹ B כַּמֶּה כְּחֶמֶךְ "as much as thou wishest."

dwelt in the monastery, we dug out a large cistern which was twenty cubits wide, and eighty men were digging it out, and we set seventy men to build [walls round it]; and they dug down according to their knowledge, and they passed¹ the place where they expected [to find water], and went down even one cubit more, but they did not find water, and being greatly distressed at this we wished² to abandon the well and go away. But when Abbâ Pîôr came from the desert at the season of noon, now he was an old man and was covered in his head-cloak, he saluted us, and said unto us, "Why hath your spirit lessened, O ye of little faith? For I observe that your spirit hath diminished "since yesterday because ye have not found water." Then he went down by a ladder to the bottom of the well, and made a prayer with the men, and having prayed, he took up an iron tool and drove it into the earth three times, saying, "O Lord God of the holy "Fathers, make not the weariness [of these men] to be in vain, but send them water in abundance;" and straightway the water sprang up in such quantity that they all were wetted, and having prayed a second time he went forth and departed. And when they urged him to remain with them and eat he would not be persuaded to do so, but said unto them, "The "matter concerning which I was sent hath come to "pass, and to eat I was not sent" [Page 272].

¹ Read سقطوا.

² Adding سقطوا.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF A CERTAIN DISTINGUISHED WANDERING MONK.¹

There was a certain distinguished wandering monk who (as we have heard from the famous monks who dwelt by the side of the country of ANTINOË) lived a life of great sanctity in the mountains, and many folk were helped by him both by word and deed. And the Enemy had envy of him, even as he hath of every [good] man, and he cast into his mind thoughts which appeared to be modest, saying, "It is not seemly for thee to be ministered unto and treated with honour by others, for thou shouldst minister unto thyself. Go therefore to the city, and sell thy plaited baskets thyself, and buy whatsoever thou hast need of, and lay no burden upon any man." Now the crafty one counselled him in this wise because he was envious of the assistance² which [he obtained] from the silent contemplation and constant [prayer], and because³ he kept God in his mind, and he was laying nets for him, and was trying to snare him by every means in his power. And the monk, being convinced as it were by [a counsellor of] good, for he was not greatly skilled [in the knowledge] of the cunning and of the abundant wickedness of him that was lurking in ambush, went down from the mountain, and the brethren marvelled, because he was a wandering monk who was well-known and famous; and thus, in a short time, through want of care, and also through converse with women, he was caught in the toils and fell.

And he came to the river [Nile] in a desolate

¹ The copyist adds the note:—"We have found [the story of] this wandering monk and recluse following [that of] the recluse John of Lycus."

² Read *ἡ βοήθεια*.

³ Read *ἡ ἐνέργεια*.

place (now there was with him the Enemy who had cast him down, and who rejoiced because of his fall, and because many folk would be made to offend through hearing thereof); and because he had greatly grieved the Spirit of God, and the Angels, and the holy Fathers of the same class as himself, having become unlike any of those who in the cities and everywhere else had overcome [Satan]; and because he had forgotten that great might was nigh unto him [that fighteth] against the Enemy, and who truly hath his hope in the Lord; because, I say, [Page 273] he forgot that this help existed, he fell into error, and knew not how he was to be healed, and wished to throw himself into the river flood and die. And moreover, although his body was brought exceedingly low, through the suffering of his soul, it would have been in vain had not, at length, the mercy of God helped him not to die, (which would have afforded perfect joy to the Enemy), [and it urged him] to depart again with weeping and bitter suffering of heart, and, as was meet, to make supplication to the compassion of God. And thus having returned to his place and blocked up the window of his cell, he wept, as was right, after the manner of one who weepeth in a suitable manner over a dead person, and he reduced his body to emaciation by means of his fasting, and vigil, and grief, for the expectation of his repentance¹ had not as yet come to him.

And on several occasions when the brethren came to comfort him, and knocked at his door, because he had no excuse to make he would say, "Pray ye for me, O my brethren, for I have made a covenant "to live a life of silent contemplation all my days, "having everything of which I have need." Then they would go away having no hope whatsoever for him;

¹ He did not expect that his repentance would be accepted.

now he was a monk who was very precious in their sight. And from Pentecost, when the brethren were in the habit of relaxing their severe rules of life, and when they ate freely—now because of his fall that monk did not act thus—onwards, throughout the whole year until the feast of unleavened bread, he prayed with tears, and he vexed sorely the life of his flesh, and was crucified with Christ. But on the eve of the [day of] the Resurrection, at the rejoicing of the holy First Day of the week, he took a new lamp, and trimmed it ready for lighting, and he set it in a new vessel likewise, and covered it over, and being unable to stand up in prayer, he said, “O Thou Merciful One, “Who desirest that the Barbarians and all the people “who are without God should have knowledge of thee “and should turn to Thee, and Who alone art the true “Physician of souls, have mercy upon me! for I know “that I have made Thee wroth not a little. I have “obeyed the Enemy even to my death and, behold, I “am a dead man. O Thou Who didst teach [Page 274] “the children of men who were not merciful to shew “mercy¹ to each other, O have mercy upon me! For “unto Thee nothing is impossible, even though I be “brought down as low as the dust in Sheol. But Thou “art the Lord of Thy hosts, and Thou art He Who “is good unto those whom Thou hast fashioned, and “Thou art He Who shall raise up the dead bodies [of “those who] have no being and Who shall make them “to have being in the Day of Resurrection; answer “Thou me because my heart and my body are sick, “for I am overcome by the fear of Thee and am ready “to perish, and I cannot live any longer. And, because “as yet I have no confidence in [my] repentance, a “two-fold destruction have I in my despair. Shew “compassion upon me, O Merciful One, and kindle this “lamp by Thy light, so that I by means thereof may

¹ Read رحمة.

“receive the encouragement of Thy mercy, and may
“pass the remainder of my life which Thou wilt bestow¹
“upon me in the way which shall please Thee, and
“may never again as long as I live be unmindful of
“the fear of Thy commandments.”

And he said these things with tears on his face, and he rose up to see if the lamp had been lighted, and he uncovered it, and saw that there was no light in it. Then he fell upon his face as he had done before, and he besought the Lord frequently, saying, “O Lord, Thou knowest that the strife hath
“taken place and that it is ended, and Thou wilt not
“require especially that I should be disgraced by crying out with the wicked, and that I should suffer torture for ever. Have mercy then upon me, and I will
“confess Thy goodness; I have been ashamed before
“the righteous angels, and if it were not that it would
“cause scandal, I would make my confession to the
“children of men. Therefore have compassion upon
“me, for from this time forward I will teach others
“that their hearts must not be outside Thy fear, even
“for a moment; and now I make supplication unto Thy
“goodness, O make me to live, and I entreat Thee
“[so to do], for I am about to die.” And the monk prayed in this manner three times, and then he was heard by God, for when he went back the fourth time [to see if the lamp had been lighted] he found it burning brightly; and he was strengthened with hope, and rejoiced, and wept abundantly, and he marvelled at Divine Grace, [Page 275] and he made prayer to the Lord about this also, saying, “Thou didst shew
“compassion upon the life of this world of him that is
“unworthy, and especially by the great and new sign
“[which Thou hast given]; yea, Lord, Thou dost always
“shew Thy compassion upon the miserable soul, and
“dost spare it.” And the monk continued [to give]

¹ The better reading is ~~am~~.

simple thanks [until] the day dawned, and he rejoiced in the Lord and forgot the food of the body; and he tended the light of the lamp every day, and poured oil therein, and he trimmed it from above, and kept it covered so that it should not be extinguished. And thus that man became like one who had risen in the resurrection of the righteous, and like the chaste man, and like the humble man in the Spirit of God [who obeyeth] readily, and [who giveth] gladly unto the Lord gratitude and thanks. And when he was about to yield up unto the Lord the soul which had been graciously given to him, he related the story gladly unto the brethren who happened to be there, that it might cause them fear, and he said, "Let that lamp be placed in [my] grave in commemoration of [my] repentance." And we, who heard concerning the grace of God, have written down these things in order that men may be watchful in the Lord.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED EVAGRIUS, THE SOLITARY AND STRENUOUS MONK.

It is not meet that we should veil the history of this holy man in silence, for we must set it down plainly in writing, both for the help and edification of those who shall come across it, and for the glory of that God Whose wont is to change bitterness to sweetness; we shall, therefore, make clear the history of the blessed man from the beginning, and tell how he journeyed step by step to the goal of spiritual excellence, and how he was carried onwards to the ascetic life, and how he arrived at purity of heart, and how he departed from this world at the age of fifty-four years.

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Now this blessed man came from Pontus, where his family lived, and where his father held the office of visitor; and the [Page 276] blessed man BASIL, Bishop of Caesarea, appointed him to be a reader. And after the death of the blessed man BASIL, GREGORY, Bishop of Nazianzus, seeing his perspicacity, and his great skill in the Divine Books, and that he was free from passions, and was adorned with virtues, brought him nigh to the grade of the priesthood, and he went up to the Synod which was held at Constantinople with the blessed man GREGORY, who loved him greatly. And when the blessed man NECTARIUS, Bishop of Constantinople, met him, he was drawn to love him, because he saw that he was a man of strong character, and he attached him to himself. Now EVAGRIUS was beloved by all men, and he was held in honour by all men, and for this reason Satan was envious of him, and he disturbed his understanding through the vision of his mind, which he set in a blaze through the love of a certain woman; and this woman was the wife of one of the noblemen of the city, according to what he himself related unto us. And when, by the Will of God, he was set free from these thoughts, the woman herself began to love EVAGRIUS; now she was a great lady of high degree. Then EVAGRIUS, setting before his eyes the reproach of fornication, prayed unto God with labour that, in His Grace, He might bring this matter to nought, and that He might extinguish the mad lust of that woman; to chide her himself the blessed man was not able, because he was bridled¹ by the large numbers of gifts [which he had received] from her. And his prayer having been heard when as yet he had not had union with her sinfully, an angel appeared unto him in the form of a soldier of the prefect, who seized him, and cast him into prison, and who loaded his neck and his hands with chains,

¹ Read ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ.

but who did not inform EVAGRIUS for what reason he had to bear this ill treatment; and the thought sprang up in his mind which said, "Perhaps that woman's husband has laid an accusation against me before the judge." Then EVAGRIUS found himself in great agony of mind, because he saw that [Page 277] other men, who had been committed to prison for offences similar to his own, were condemned in judgment before his eyes, and the angel changed his form, and appeared unto him in the guise of one of his friends, and he began to say unto him, when he saw that he was loaded with chains and had been placed with the malefactors, "What is this which hath happened unto thee, O brother?" And EVAGRIUS made answer unto him, saying, "My brother, in truth I know not. I think that perhaps some prince of the city hath laid [an accusation] against me before the judge, because of some vain jealousy (*or*, envy) which hath burst into flame in him, and I am afraid lest, through a gift of much money, the judge may issue a decree of death against me." And the angel said unto him, "If thou wilt receive the words of thy friend I counsel thee not to remain in this city;" and the blessed EVAGRIUS said unto him, "Thinkest thou that thou wilt see me in this city if God will deliver me from this trial? Thou mightest as well think that I am enduring these evils righteously!" Then the angel said unto him, "Swear unto me that thou wilt depart [from the city], and wilt have a care for thy soul, and I will deliver thee from these trials;" and EVAGRIUS took an oath unto him by the Book of the Gospel, [saying], "I will not tarry here more than the one day which will be necessary for me to put my things in the ship."

And when EVAGRIUS woke up from his sleep, he thought within himself and said, "Although the words of the oaths have been uttered in a dream, it is right that I should fulfil that which I have promised;" so he put his things in a ship and departed to Jerusalem,

where the blessed woman MELANIA received him gladly; now MELANIA had come from the city of Rome. And, because Satan had made the heart of EVAGRIUS as hard as that of Pharaoh, he failed to call to mind that which he had promised to do, and he went back to his former habits, and returned to his pride and was arrayed in filthy garments. But God, because He is in the habit of bringing to nought on our behalf things of evil, kindled the fire of a great fever in EVAGRIUS, and He cast him into a sickness which lasted for six months, and none of the physicians was able to bring healing unto him [Page 278]. Then the blessed woman MELANIA said unto him, "My son, thy long illness pleaseth me not; tell me, then, concerning it, for peradventure there is something hidden in thy mind; thy illness is not like unto that of every [other] man." Then EVAGRIUS confessed unto her the whole matter. And MELANIA said unto him, "Promise me, truthfully, that from this time onward thou wilt take care of thyself in a habitation of monks, and that thou wilt work unto God; and, however great a sinner I¹ may be, I will pray for thee, and relief shall be given unto thy tribulation." Then he promised [to do] that which she required at his hands, and before a few days had passed by the blessed man was healed, and he rose up [from his bed], and from that day his whole mind was changed. And he departed and went to the mountain which is in Egypt and which is called "Nethrà (i. e., Nitria), and dwelt there for two years, and in the third year he departed into the inner desert, and dwelt there fourteen years, in the place which is called "The Cells"; and he lived upon one pound [of bread] a day, and a box of oil [every] three months. He had been a man great in pomp, and he had made great his body, and had been ministered unto by slaves, yet he laid down a rule that he should

¹ The better reading seems to be بني.

pray in the course of [each] day one hundred prayers. He lived by the labour of his hands, and he only accepted the bare price of his daily food [for] all the work he did; and his work was to write books. Before, however, the fifteen years had passed by, he had cleansed his heart, and was held to be worthy of the grace of God, and wisdom and understanding were given to him, and he knew the power of spirits. He composed three volumes, and taught us [therein] the cunning of devils, and the snares [laid by the] thoughts.

And the blessed man EVAGRIUS himself related unto us that the devil of fornication [once] made an attack upon him, and that he stood up naked the whole night long in the desert (now it was the season of winter), until his flesh was quite shrivelled and dried up. And the [Page 279] devil of blasphemy [on another occasion] made an attack upon him, and, according to what he told us, he passed forty days under the open sky in winter until his flesh became like that of the beasts of the desert. And he also told us that once three devils came to him in the day time, in the form of three members of a religious body, and they began to discuss the faith with him; one of these declared himself to be an Arian, the second said that he was a Eunomian,¹ and the third confessed himself to be of the sect of APOLLINARIUS,² but by the Divine Grace which was with him, he drove them away, having put them to shame.

And again he told [us] that one day he lost the key of his cell, but he made the sign of the Cross over the door, and then put in his hand and opened it, having called Christ to his help. He was beaten with innumerable stripes by the devils, and he learned

¹ *I. e.*, a follower of Eunomius, Bishop of Cyzicus, A.D. 360—364.

² Bishop of Laodicea; he died about A.D. 390.

by experience very much concerning their cunning. He made known unto one of his disciples by prophecy that which should happen unto him after [a period of] eighteen years, and what he said actually came to pass. And he said, "From the time when I entered the "desert I have never washed, and I have never eaten "any vegetable, or any fruit, or any grapes." At the end of his life, however, that is to say, in the sixteenth year wherein he departed from the world, he ate, compulsorily, food which was cooked by fire, and he was obliged to do this because of a weakness of the stomach which had overtaken him, and he was compelled to take food which had been cooked because of this.

CHAPTER XV.

THE HISTORY OF MARK [MALCHUS] THE SOLITARY MONK.

About three miles from ANTIOCH in Syria there is a certain village which is called MĀRŌNĪĀ, and in this village was an old monk whose name was MALCHUS, and he was a wonderful and a holy man. Now at that time I had travelled far away from the house of my fathers, and I went to EVAGRIUS [Page 280] the priest, where I heard concerning the holy man MALCHĀ, and I desired greatly to see him and to be blessed by him; so I went to him, and he received me gladly, and began to tell me about the habits of life and the works of the monks, and how it is right to fear the Lord, and, having rejoiced greatly in the pious words of his doctrine, I besought him to confirm me especially in such things. Then he said unto me, "My son, I will relate unto you concerning the temptations which, in proportion to my presumption and thoughtlessness, have come upon me, in order that they may help you, and also concerning the compassionate grace of the

Lord God Who took me out of and redeemed me from them, and Who permitted them to come upon me for the correction of many, who should learn of me, and should not become disobedient to the exhortation of their spiritual fathers, because disobedience is the cause of death."

Then having said these things he began to narrate to me his history, and he said:—I was born in the village which is called KHSIBHNĒ,¹ and I was² the only child of my parents, who, because I was the only child they ever expected to have, were proud of me; and when I had arrived at manhood's estate they were anxious to marry me to a wife, but when I spake against their [wish], saying, "It is right for me to be—come a monk and to serve the Lord," and they heard of it, they were exceedingly wroth with me. Now my father urged me to marry and threatened me with penalties if I did not, and my mother was always inciting and counselling me to do so. And seeing that their minds were most firmly set upon this, which would become unto me an impediment to my confession of the faith before God, I forsook them, and treated with contempt all the riches of this world, and took with me only a very small sum of money, which was just sufficient for the expenses of my journey; now I wished to go to the monasteries of the East. And because at that time the Greeks had determined to make war upon the Persians, I changed my intention, and made up my mind to go to the west; [Page 281] and whilst I was pondering this matter I learned that between KENESHĀRĪN and ALEPPO there was a monastery which was situated in a peaceful spot, so I gave up my former intention, and went thither, and I asked them [to receive me], and I remained with them, and I wrestled with all their ascetic habits and rules of

¹ *I.e.*, Nisibis.

² Read *وحيده*.

chastity according to their godly ways of life, and I made good progress therein in the Lord.

And having remained in that monastery for a certain number of years, and having lived blamelessly the life of spiritual excellence, all the brethren rejoiced at the growth of my asceticism; but because the Calumniator, that jealous and envious being, could not endure [this], he cast into my mind thoughts [which were apparently] correct ones, saying, "Since thy father is dead, return "to thy house, and comfort thy mother so long as she "is alive, and after her death sell thy possessions, and "give some of the price thereof to the poor; and the "remainder keep, and with it build a monastery, and "thou thyself shalt become a father and a governor of "monks." And to tell the truth to thee, my son, the Calumniator cast within me the passion of avarice, saying, "Keep some of the money for thine old age." And when the war which was caused by these thoughts had been [waged] against me daily for some time, I felt obliged to reveal this sickness of my soul to the spiritual father, who, when the holy father had heard thereof, said unto me, "My son, hearken not to thy "feelings, for this is a snare of Satan who, by means of "this cunning device, hath put many monks backward "in their course, even as a dog goeth back to his "vomit, and hath cast them down and hath made them "lose their inheritance, and who, though continually "setting before them the hope of that which is good, "hath, nevertheless, brought them down into Sheol. "For having raised ADAM to a height of error which "resembled this, he brought him down to the bottom "of Sheol; and our Lord commandeth him that hath "laid his hand upon the plough not to turn back."

Now when by means of such testimonies which he brought from the Holy Scriptures he was not able to persuade me [to stay], he thereupon fell down before me and wished me to swear [Page 282] by the Lord that I would not forsake him. And whilst that

merciful and pious father was saying these things for my deliverance, the Enemy was placing in my heart the words, "The father acteth not thus because he "would shew compassion on thee, but he wisheth that "the whole community of the brethren may be glorified "[by thy staying here];" and by saying words of this kind to me, that evil adviser made me to gain a victory of wickedness, and he made me to come forth out of the monastery. And still clinging unto me, as unto one who was lost, the father said unto me, "My "son, I see that thou art consumed by the love of "money; the sheep which goeth forth from his flock "without his shepherd straightway becometh a prey "unto wolves;" and when he had spoken these words unto me I left him.

Then I went from Aleppo to Edessa by the king's highway, and being afraid of the soldiers (*i. e.*, bands of marauding robbers), who had already taken up their abode in the countries round about, I remained in Edessa, hoping to find company for the journey, for so great as this was my watchful fear. And when we had gathered together a company of men and women, [whose] names were seventy in number, and had therefore set out on the road, suddenly a band of Arab soldiers swooped down upon us, and carried us all away; then I called to mind the exhortation of the holy father, and I said to myself, "O my soul, such "are the great riches which I went forth to inherit! "O wretched man that I am, such are the promises of "the Enemy, the deceiver and destroyer of souls! In- "herit [thy wealth] then, O wretched one, and make "thyself happy therewith." And as I was saying these things to myself, one of the Arabs took me and a certain woman, and set the two of us on one camel, and having travelled a short distance in the desert, because we were afraid lest we should fall from the camel, we were compelled to hold tightly to each other; and not only did this shame come upon mine

unconvinced mind, but I was also obliged to eat with her. And the Arab gave us milk and camel's flesh, and he carried us to his tent, [Page 283] and he commanded me to do homage to his wife and to bow down before her, and he said, "This is thy mistress." Now through these things I, the chaste man and monk, was becoming acquainted with the form of the nakedness of these people, according to the reward which my passion of avarice merited; and the Arab ordered me to gird myself about with woollen garments and to shepherd the sheep, and this [occupation] became unto me a source of consolation for the tribulations which surrounded me, because after a few days I was released from the evil faces of my masters and companions. But this alone did not bring me consolation, for I remembered that ABEL, and the Patriarch JACOB and his sons, and the holy man MOSES, and king DAVID were shepherds of sheep, and I rejoiced in the desert, and I pastured the sheep, and prayed, and sang the Psalms which I learned in the monastery. And I used to eat cheese made of goats' milk, and I drank milk, and I gave praise to God, that I had¹ obtained such a [light] penalty for my disobedience; and remembering that the Apostle said, "Servant, be submissive to your 'masters,' not only to the good, but also to the wicked," I took care of my master's sheep with the utmost diligence. Now in all these things I kept in mind always the envy of the Calumniator, who hateth that which is good.

And when my master saw that I was acting rightly towards him, he wished to reward me well therefore, and he wanted to marry to me that woman who had been taken captive with me; and when I spake against his proposal, saying, "I am a monk, and I cannot do 'this, besides this woman has a husband who was

¹ B has *د الله*.

² Colossians III. 22; Ephesians VI. 5.

"taken captive with us, and who has passed into other ownership," his wrath went up, and he drew his sword, and he set his gaze upon me, and would have killed me, had it not been that I ran and took hold of his wife's hand. And having married me to the woman, he brought me into a cave with her. When, therefore, I knew that this was indeed the captor [Page 284] of my soul, I cried aloud, and wept, and said, "Woe unto me, the sinner! What hath happened unto me? For having grown old in a life of virginity, a terrible evil now cometh upon me, and I must, forsooth, become the husband of a wife! Where now is my mother? And where are the possessions and riches of my fathers? For because I was not persuaded to [perform] the obedience of the servants of God, and because I separated myself [therefrom], and because I forsook the Lord I must endure things of this kind! Now what wilt thou do, O my wretched soul? For if thou dost conquer by patient endurance, by the Grace of God thou wilt be held worthy of help, but if thou art lax severe punishment is laid up for thee. Fight then mightily against sin, and turn the sword against thyself, that there may be kept for thee the testimony of chastity; hold in contempt the fire of time, that thou mayest flee from the fire of eternity, and conquer thou sin in the desert, that thou mayest be a persecuted and chosen witness."

Then I took the sword in my hands, and saluted that woman, saying, "Mayest thou remain in peace, O wretched woman, and acquire for thyself rather a martyr than a husband, for because I would not marry a wife I fled from and forsook my parents." Now when the woman saw the sword which was shining in the darkness, she fell down before my feet and said unto me, "I will make thee swear by Jesus Christ, the Lord of praise, that thou wilt not kill thyself for my sake; and if thou wishest to do this turn the sword against me. Why shouldst thou wish to kill thyself

“so that thou mayest not take me to wife? Know thou that I am far more anxious than thou art to preserve my chastity unto Christ, and must guard it not only against thee, but also against my lawful husband, for even if he were to come I would keep myself chaste. This is what this captivity wherein I am teacheth me, for this affliction should teach us to take refuge in the Lord. Take me then to thyself as a companion¹ of thy [Page 285] chastity, and let us love each other in spiritual love, so that when our masters see us they may think that our intercourse is carnal. Now God, Who knoweth hearts, recognizeth spiritual brotherhood, and we can easily persuade these people when they see us together in this wise that we love each other.” Then, whilst marvelling at the understanding of the woman, I received her good advice gladly in Christ, and henceforward I loved her as a spiritual helpmeet, and as a pure and chaste helper. I never saw her body naked, and I never approached her couch, for I was afraid lest, having been victorious in the time of war, I might receive a severe wound through the arrows of the Enemy in the time of peace. In this wise then our masters left us for a long time, and they were not afraid that we were preparing to run away from them, for it happened on several occasions, sometimes for a whole month together, that I was alone [with the woman] in the desert. And my master used to come, and when he saw that I was taking good care of his sheep, he would go back [to his place] rejoicing.

And it came to pass one day when, according to my custom, I was sitting in the desert, that I began to meditate upon the peaceful life of the brethren who were in the monastery, and I saw also the face of our holy father as if it had been an image; and I thought of his perfect and abundant love for me,

¹ Literally, “a daughter of the yoke.”

and how anxious he was in every way that I should not be separated from him, and how I would not be persuaded [to stay with him] by the Divine revelation, and how he bore witness beforehand concerning the things which would happen to me—[Whilst, then, I say, I was pondering upon these things in my mind, and was greatly afflicted thereby, I saw an ants' nest, and I saw multitudes of these insects working with the greatest diligence and care in their various ways, and I saw how they were all making their way into the nest through a narrow entrance, without impeding each other. Some of them were bringing seeds for their winter food; and others were bringing loads which were larger than their bodies; and others were carrying in on their backs those which had been wounded; and others were expelling from the nest those which had settled themselves inside, and they were cutting them up into small pieces, lest being drenched in the winter they would have to return to the grass, and should die of hunger and be destroyed; and others were carrying dust, so that when the winter rains fell with violence they might be able to block up the entrance to their nest firmly. Now this sight was in my opinion worthy to wonder at, because everything which these small creatures did was done in perfect order, and I spent the whole of the day in watching them, and so enjoyed some relaxation from my afflictions, and I said, "Well did Solomon counsel us to be like these creatures, for he [wished to] stir up our lazy and sluggish under-standings in this wise [to perform] with a ready mind the things which befit our redemption".¹

¹ The scribe has omitted one paragraph, which is here supplied from Bedjan's edition:—

جَدِّهِ تَكْلِمَ دِيْمَ مَحْمُودِ تَقْوَىٰ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ : مَحْمُودِ
 تَقْوَىٰ مَحْمُودِ : مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ : مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ
 مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ : مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ مَحْمُودِ

ing diligently, and without any hindrance, and with all their strength to do their work, and to minister unto one another; and who were not saying about any possession which was theirs "It is mine", and who had everything in common; and who carried out perfectly the manner of life, which is described in the Acts of the Apostles,¹ according to which no man said about any possession that it was his, and everything was in common; and who, though possessing nothing, yet possessed everything; and who enjoyed sufficiently that which they had for their [daily] needs, with all fear or with all praise, and glorified Him Who richly provided them with everything.

And having made my heart sad and low with such thoughts for many days, I went to that woman, who seeing how greatly my countenance was changed, entreated to be allowed to learn the cause thereof; and having confessed to her that it was because I had remembered the regular life of the brethren, and that I wished to escape and to return to the monastery out of which the Enemy had made me to come, she advised me and besought me to take her [with me] and to place her also in a nunnery. And having together decided upon this plan, we wept and entreated our Lord to help us to carry out what we had determined and to deliver us from that wicked people. Now therefore, having firm hope in God's assistance, we took thought for our return, and I slew two large goats which I had with me, and made their skins into water bottles; and having loaded their flesh upon our shoulders. I took the woman, and we departed. And we travelled the whole night long, and came to an exceedingly great and wide river, and I blew up the water bottles, [Page 287] and I gave one to the woman and kept the other myself, and we laid hold upon them with our hands, and sitting astride of the skins we paddled

¹ Acts IV. 32.

with our feet, and crossed over the river. Then, seeing that we should have to cross a desert wherein there was no water, we drank abundantly of the water of the river, and rose up from that place and went on our way quickly; and we were turning round continually [to look] behind us because of our horrible expectation that there would be men pursuing us, and that even if we could escape from them we should¹ fall [into the hands of] wicked men like unto them.

Now because of our fear lest this should happen, and because of the heat of the sun, we were obliged to travel by night, and urged by this great fear, and also by our great anxiety, we were looking behind us ceaselessly. And after [travelling for] five days, we turned round suddenly, and saw our master and one of his companions, riding upon camels, and holding drawn swords in their hands, and pursuing after us; and by reason of our fear the sun appeared to us to become dark. And whilst we were in this terrible state of fright, and did not know where to escape, through the Providence of Christ, the Hope of the hopeless, and the Help of the helpless, we peered about in that place and found a frightful cave in the ground, wherein had gathered all the numerous kinds of snakes which are found in the desert, serpents, and asps, and vipers, and scorpions, which had gone therein because of the burning heat of the sun. Into this cave we tottered, and we hid ourselves in a corner, on the left hand side thereof, and we said, "If our Lord help us this cave shall be "unto us a house of deliverance; but if He leave us "to the sinners it will be our grave."

Now when our master and his companion following in our footprints had pursued us to the cave, they alighted from [Page 288] their camels, and stood by the mouth thereof, and when we saw our master, such great fear laid hold upon us that we were unable to move

¹ For **يُؤَدَّ** read **يُؤَدَّ**.

our tongue to utter a word; for owing to the greatness of our fear we were already [as] dead men, before the sword-stroke fell upon us. And when our master stood outside the cave and called to us, we were unable to speak to him because of our fear. And he took hold of the camels, and commanded his companion to go in and bring us out, whilst he stood [outside] waiting for us with his sword drawn, so that he might by means thereof quell his brutal madness. Now when the young man had gone into the cave for a distance of five paces he stood [still], and because he had come in from the outside, his eyes had become dazzled by the light of the sun, and he could not see. Now we being quite near him could see him standing [there], but because he was unable to see us he began to terrify us with [his] voice, saying, "Come out, O ye "wicked slaves who deserve death, wherefore do ye "delay? Behold, your master is outside expecting you." And as he was saying these words, we saw a lioness rise up on the right hand side of the cave, and she sprang upon him, and whilst he was yet speaking, she seized him by the throat and strangled him forthwith, and then dragged him in and laid him on her lair, for she had a male cub; and when we saw our enemy lying [there] before our eyes, we glorified God with great joy. Now his master, not knowing what had happened, and thinking that the young man had been overcome by us, and being unable to contain himself for rage, ran forward, holding his drawn sword in his hand, and, standing at the mouth of the cave, cried out in his wrath to the young man, saying, "Quick, quick, bring "forth these [slaves] to me that they may die an evil "death." And whilst he was speaking, the lioness sprang upon him suddenly, and ripped him up, and threw him headlong on the ground.

And we marvelled at all these unspeakable and inexplicable wonders [Page 289] of the Lord, and we gave thanks to Him, and we rejoiced in the glory of

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Him Who in this tribulation had risen up, and by Whose command the wild beast had destroyed our enemies. Now when the lioness turned back and passed from one side to the other of the cave where we were, we thought that she would destroy us, but, because of the wonderful thing which had been wrought, we [continued] to praise the Lord, and we said, "Since the Lord hath delivered us from those wicked men He can, if he willeth, hand us over to the lions; but nevertheless let us praise Him and give thanks unto Him." Now whilst we were thus thinking in our minds, the lioness took up the cub in her mouth, and departed from the cave, and left the place to us; but after she had gone, because of the state of fear in which we were, we remained the whole of that day in the cave. And in the morning we went forth and found the camels that were still laden with provisions which our master had brought for himself and his slave; and we ate and drank therefrom, and for all these things we gave thanks unto the Lord, Who had delivered us from our enemies. And we rode upon the camels, and having crossed that desert in ten days, we arrived at a Greek camp, and we drew nigh to the Tribune who was in command of it, and related unto him everything which had happened unto us; then he sent us on to SABINUS, who was at that time Duke of Mesopotamia, and he likewise learned all our affairs and took the camels and gave us their price, and he dismissed us to depart to our country in peace. Now before our return it happened that my spiritual father fell asleep. And the woman who had been [my] helper, and who had given [me] excellent advice, and had counselled good actions, I placed in an abode of virgins, and I returned to my own [Page 290] monastery and to my spiritual brethren, where at the beginning the Lord directed me. And I related unto that blessed brotherhood the story of all the things which had happened to me, and I confessed that it was because

I had not hearkened unto the admonition of that holy father that the Lord left me so that all these trials might come upon me; and He did this for the correction of many.

Now therefore, O my son, all these trials, which came upon me because of my disobedience, and which I have narrated before thee, are [intended] for the edification and the protection of thy soul; get thou possession of them, because, by the help of God, patient endurance and implicit obedience will deliver a man from all temptations. Obedience to the commandments of God is everlasting life, and the patient endurance which is perfect produceth everlasting life in us; for "he who endureth unto the end shall live."¹ These things did the old man MARK [MALCHUS] himself relate unto me whilst I was a young man, and on account of the law of brotherly love I have written them down because they befit the chaste life of holy old men, and tend to [their] edification and admonition; do ye then relate them unto those who are young, so that they may learn that those who have drawn nigh to the venerable estate of pure chastity, and who have preserved the same for Christ's sake even unto the end, and who are protected by His power, shall overcome all the temptations of the Enemy. And neither captivity, nor the sword, nor any temptation, shall be able to overthrow those who have preserved in all purity and holiness the temple of Christ without spot and blemish, even unto death, and they shall become holy temples, and the Spirit of God shall dwell in them, and notwithstanding all the words of the Calumniator, He shall bestow victory upon them, for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ St. Matthew X. 22.

[illegible]

CHAPTER XVII^A.

OF A CERTAIN OLD MAN WHO WENT NAKED.

And they used to speak of a certain solitary monk who went out unto the desert carrying his apparel on his shoulder, and having gone a journey of three days, he climbed a rock, and saw below him an old man who was grazing like the beasts, and he came down secretly and gave chase to him. And the old man was naked, and his soul had diminished to such a degree that he could not bear the smell of men, and he was able to remove himself from them and to make his escape by flight. And having taken to flight that brother pursued him, and he cried out to him, and said, "I am following after thee; for God's sake wait for me." Then the old man answered and said unto him, "And I, for God's sake also, am fleeing from thee;" and finally, casting away from him the garment which was on his shoulder, he pursued him with all his might. Now as soon as the old man saw that he had cast away his garments, he waited for him, and when the brother came up with him, the old man said, "As thou didst cast away from thee the things of the world I waited for thee." Then that brother entreated him, saying, "Speak to me a word [of advice] that I may be redeemed thereby;" and the old man said unto

١. ٢. ٣. ٤. ٥. ٦. ٧. ٨. ٩. ١٠. ١١. ١٢. ١٣. ١٤. ١٥. ١٦. ١٧. ١٨. ١٩. ٢٠. ٢١. ٢٢. ٢٣. ٢٤. ٢٥. ٢٦. ٢٧. ٢٨. ٢٩. ٣٠. ٣١. ٣٢. ٣٣. ٣٤. ٣٥. ٣٦. ٣٧. ٣٨. ٣٩. ٤٠. ٤١. ٤٢. ٤٣. ٤٤. ٤٥. ٤٦. ٤٧. ٤٨. ٤٩. ٥٠. ٥١. ٥٢. ٥٣. ٥٤. ٥٥. ٥٦. ٥٧. ٥٨. ٥٩. ٦٠. ٦١. ٦٢. ٦٣. ٦٤. ٦٥. ٦٦. ٦٧. ٦٨. ٦٩. ٧٠. ٧١. ٧٢. ٧٣. ٧٤. ٧٥. ٧٦. ٧٧. ٧٨. ٧٩. ٨٠. ٨١. ٨٢. ٨٣. ٨٤. ٨٥. ٨٦. ٨٧. ٨٨. ٨٩. ٩٠. ٩١. ٩٢. ٩٣. ٩٤. ٩٥. ٩٦. ٩٧. ٩٨. ٩٩. ١٠٠.

And after he had said these things to me, he rose up suddenly and went outside the booth and stood up for many hours in prayer; and when he had finished his prayer, he came to me, and as I looked upon his face fear and wonder fell upon me, for it was a face as of fire. And, seeing that I was afraid, he said unto me, "Fear not, for the Lord hath sent thee to me "that thou mayest bury my body," and as soon as he had finished speaking, he stretched out his hands and his feet, and died. Then I took the garment which I had on me [and tore it in two], and in one half of it I rolled him up and laid him in it in the earth, and the other half formed my apparel. Now as soon as I had buried him the palm tree dried up, and the booth fell down. Then I made many entreaties unto God, and I prayed unto Him to leave me the palm tree, so that I might pass the rest of my life there, but as this did not take place, I perceived that it was

[illegible]

the rocks and at another in the desert. And if it fell out and happened that he came to districts which were settled, or to a place where a congregation of monks passed their whole lives together in the fulfilment of the rules of monasticism, he would take his seat contentedly outside the door of the monastery.

Now on one occasion, having arrived at a certain monastery, he sat down outside the door, and he wept and wailed aloud after the manner of one who had been saved from a storm [at sea]; and when one of the brethren had gone forth, he found him [sitting there] like any ordinary poor man or beggar, and having drawn nigh unto him compassionately he said unto him, "Wherefore weepest thou, O man? If thou hast need of any of the necessities of life, so far as in my power lieth, I will give it unto thee. Rise up, then, and get thee inside the monastery, and comfort thyself with the blessed companionship of the table with us." Then the blessed BESSARION made answer unto him, and said, "Until I find [Page 292] the possessions of my house which I have lost, and the numerous goods of the house of my fathers which I have lost in sundry and divers ways, I cannot live under a roof. For pirates fell upon me at sea, and a storm rose up against me, and I have been shorn of my riches, and from being a man of high degree I have become the object of contempt." Now that brother was astonished at these words, and was grieved thereat, and he went in and brought out some bread, and gave it unto him, saying, "Father, take this, and the other things which thou hast mentioned, that is to say, country, and family, and riches, God shall restore unto thee." But ABBÂ BESSARION cried out the more, and with louder cries, and lifted up his voice and said, "I know not if I shall be able to find that which I have lost, and that which I seek, for as far as I can see they will be removed from me still farther. And I am afflicted daily, and am brought

"nigh unto death, by reason of the violent storm of wickednesses innumerable which surround me, and I endure them and [rest] upon hope that, peradventure, "I may be worthy of mercy in the day of judgment."

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE WONDERFUL THINGS WHICH ABBÂ BESSARION WROUGHT.

ABBÂ SHÂÔL,¹ the disciple of ABBÂ BESSARION, used to say:—We came once to the bank of a lake and I was athirst, and I said unto ABBÂ BESSARION, "I am thirsty." And the old man prayed, and said unto me, "Take water from the lake, and drink," and I went, and drank, and I found the water to be sweet; and I drew therefrom and filled all the water vessels which I had with me, for I thought that peradventure I should be thirsty again when I continue my journey. Then the old man seeing me do this, said, "Why fillest thou [these vessels with] water?" And I said unto him, "Forgive me, father, but I did so lest, peradventure, "as we continue our journey, I may become thirsty again;" and he said to me, "May God forgive thee, "for here, and there, and everywhere God directeth us."

And on another occasion he was travelling along a road, [Page 293] and he came to the river CHRYSOROAN, and there was nothing wherewith it might be crossed, and he stretched out his hands, and prayed, and crossed over to the other side. Now I was astonished, and I offered unto him repentance, and said, "Father, when "thou wast passing over the river how far up thy legs "didst thou feel the water?" And he said unto me,

¹ Dixit abbas Dulas discipulus abbatis Besarionis; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 649, col. 1.

"As far as my ankles I felt the water, but all the rest of it was solid beneath my feet."

And on another occasion we were journeying to a certain great sage, and the sun was nigh to set, and the old man prayed, and said, "I beseech Thee, O "Lord, to let the sun abide in his place until I come "to Thy servant;" and it was so.

And on another occasion I came to him in his cell that I might speak with him, and I found him standing up in prayer, with his hands stretched out to heaven, and he remained standing up in this position for four days and four nights; and afterwards he called me, and said unto me, "Come, my son," and we went forth and set out on the road. And being athirst I said unto him, "My father, I am athirst." Then he removed himself from me about the distance of a stone's throw, and prayed and came to me, and he brought with him his garment filled with water from the air, and I drank, and we travelled on our road until we came to LYCUS, to ABBÂ JOHN. And after each had saluted the other, he prayed, and sat down, and he discoursed concerning the vision which he had seen, and ABBÂ BESSARION said, "A decree of judgment hath gone forth "from the Lord, that all the temples of the idols be "blotted out;" and this actually came to pass, for at that time they were all uprooted.

And there was in Egypt a certain man who had a son that was a paralytic, and he took him on his shoulders, and brought him to ABBÂ BESSARION and left him by the door of his cell weeping, and he departed and went to a place some distance off. Now the old man heard the sound of the weeping of the young man, and he looked out, and seeing him, said unto him, "Who art thou that art here?" And the young man said, [Page 294] "My father brought me "here and then went away, and I weep." Then the old man said unto him, "Rise up, hasten after him, "and overtake him;" and straightway the young man

was made whole, and he went to his father, who took him and departed.

And on another occasion there came to the church a man who had a devil, and prayer was made on his behalf in the church, but the devil did not go forth, for he was difficult [to cast out]; and the clergy said, "What shall we do about this devil, for no man can cast him out except ABBÂ BESSARION? let us entreat him concerning the man, and even though he cometh not to the church let us act thus. Behold, the old man cometh to the church early in the morning before every one else. Let us make the sick man to occupy the seat wherein the old man sitteth usually, and when he cometh in, let us stand up in prayer, and say unto him, 'O father, make to rise up this man also';" and they did so. And when the old man came [into the church] in the morning, they rose up in prayer, and said unto him, "Father, make to rise up that brother;" and ABBÂ BESSARION went and struck him with his fist, and said, "Rise up, and get thee forth;" and straightway that devil went forth from the man, and he was made whole immediately.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE HISTORY OF A HOLY MAN WHO [POSSESSED] NINE VIRTUES.

The fathers used to say concerning a certain brother who lived in a large monastery that, having contended mightily, and having been helped by God, he had made himself master of nine virtues, and that he was exceedingly desirous of making them ten, but that in spite of many contendings he was unable [to do so]. Then the Enemy, according to his custom, cast his arrows at him, and both by day and by night he vexed him and

troubled him in order that he might depart from the monastery wherein he was, and he advised him, saying, "In another monastery thou wilt be able to complete 'the ten [virtues].'" Now the brother, not understanding the cunning of the Evil One, was led by his thoughts, which seemed to incite him to [further] spiritual excellence, and he departed [Page 295] and went to another monastery with the expectation that he would find that which he sought. And having been received into the monastery to which he had gone, after a very short time, through the contending of the Calumniator, he lost one virtue. And once again the Calumniator cast into his mind the thought that he would depart from that monastery, although he remembered his promise, and said, "Thou hast not only not 'found that which thou didst seek, but thou hast also 'lost that which thou hadst.'" Then the brother, being sad and sorry about that which had happened unto him, departed and went to another monastery, with the expectation that he would be able to acquire the virtue which he had lost, and also that he would be able to add another thereto. And whilst the brother was working and contending to acquire that virtue which he had lost, and that which he coveted, the Calumniator, through his wicked craftiness, made him lose another, and he did the same thing to him on several occasions; and he made him to go out from one monastery, and brought him into another so often that the brother at length lost four virtues. And the brother wandered about hither and thither in a state of great agitation, and coming to a certain monastery he rested himself, and leaned against the door thereof, in dejection of spirit, and he cried over himself, and wept because of what had happened to him. Then, having rested a little, he determined to go into that monastery in order to be received into it. And he told himself of all the things which had happened unto him, and all the trials which had attacked him in the mon-

asteries wherein he had been; and he passed judgment upon his soul, and said, "Art thou able to bear all "the [trials] which are in this monastery?" And his soul made answer, saying, "I place my trust in the "mercy of our Lord that He will give strength to my "weakness, and that I shall endure [them]." Then, having decided these things in his thoughts, the brother wrote them all down on a piece of paper and placed them in his girdle, and he strengthened his thoughts [Page 296] to go into the monastery that he might be received therein.

Now after he had been received, and had lived in the monastery for a short time, he began to have freedom of speech with the brethren, and with the archimandrite, and temptations also began to assail him; then he took out the written paper which was placed in his girdle, and read it, and felt relieved, and this he continued to do whensoever temptation assailed him. And the brethren marvelled because he was not perturbed when they were,¹ for on several occasions, when the brethren of that monastery were in a state of excitement, he had not permitted himself to be agitated with them in the smallest degree, and they wished to know the reason of this. And one day when the monks were agitated and disturbed by a quarrel which was so serious that the matter nearly came to murder, that brother took the paper, and looked at it, and as he was reading it one of the brethren watched him. And when the tumult was over, and the brethren saw that he was not agitated, they marvelled, and said, "What is the meaning of "this thing? And why is not that brother as excited "as we are?" Then the brother who had watched the monk [read his paper] revealed to them the matter, saying, "He hath something in his girdle, and on

¹ *I. e.*, they wondered why he would not take any side in their quarrels.

"account of it he remaineth undisturbed;" and the brethren enquired into the matter, and they found that it was even as the brother had said.

Then they approached the archimandrite, and said unto him, "If thou dost not expel this brother, we will not remain here, and we will go forth, because he is a sorcerer, and behold, his sorceries are in his girdle;" and the archimandrite promised to expel him. Now the archimandrite delayed the expulsion of that brother, and one night whilst he was asleep, the archimandrite went to him and took the paper from his girdle, and he read it and rejoiced with a great joy; and having read the paper he put it [back] into the girdle of the brother, who knew not what had been done, and no other man knew. And after a short time the brethren, [Page 297] through the agency of Satan, were greatly disturbed by a very serious quarrel, and that brother was in no wise agitated; and when they saw that he was not disturbed at all, and that he was wholly tranquil, they rose up against the archimandrite, saying, "If thou dost not expel this brother we will all depart forthwith." Then the archimandrite called the brother, and said unto him, "What is this that thy brethren are saying against thee? They are bringing an accusation against thee." And the brother expressed regret, saying, "Yes, father, all [their words] are true; but permit me to repent." And the archimandrite said unto him, "But they say that thou art a sorcerer;" and the brother said, "Yes, I am even as they say, but I beseech thy piety, O father, that thou wilt allow me to repent here." Then the archimandrite said unto him, "But they say that thy sorceries are in thy girdle." And the brother, being unwilling that his spiritual excellence should be revealed, fell upon his face before the archimandrite, and took hold of his feet, and made supplication to him, and wept with groans and sighs, saying, "Expose me not, O father, but forgive me for this once only, and I will repent with all my soul."

Then the archimandrite, who knew that great advantage would accrue to the whole brotherhood, would not be persuaded by him, but he commanded that his girdle should be loosened, and he himself took it and brought out therefrom the paper; and he then ordered that all the brethren should be gathered together, and that the paper should be read in a prominent place, so that all of them might hear. And after the paper had been read, the brethren repented, and fell upon their faces before that brother, and they entreated him, saying, "Forgive us, father, for we have sinned against thee." Thus that brother benefited the whole brotherhood, and they regarded him as a father.¹

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE BLESSED WOMAN MĂRIĂ.²

There was a certain worldly man who wished to become a monk, and he had a little daughter who besought him to take her with him to the monastery; now she was a maiden, and he entreated her, saying, "If thou wishest to become a nun let me take thee to a house for virgins," but she said to him, "I cannot be separated from thee." And her father, being much distressed about her, because she wept by night and by day, and begged that she might not be separated from him, made up his mind to take her with him, and he changed her name that it might not be known that she was a maiden. Now her name had been "MĂRIĂ," but her father gave her the name of "MARYÂNĂ," as if she had been a boy; then he committed the matter to God, and took her and went into a

¹ Page 297 ends here.

² The text will be found in Bedjan's edition, p. 272ff.

monastery, without anyone perceiving that MARYÂNÂ was a girl, and after several years MARYÂNÂ's father died performing the excellent works of the monastic life. Now the archimandrite saw that MARYÂNÂ was working [hard], and was excelling in spiritual excellence, and he rejoiced in him, not knowing that he was not a boy, and he commanded that he should not be sent out on the highways [to beg] because he was a child; and the brethren were envious against MARYÂNÂ because he did not go out on the highways with them.

And when the archimandrite saw that the brethren were envious against MARYÂNÂ, because he did not go out on the highways as they did, he called to MARYÂNÂ and said unto him, "Since the brethren are envious against thee because thou dost not perform the work on the high roads as do they, I command thee to do so;" then MARYÂNÂ fell down before the archimandrite and said unto him, "Whatsoever thou commandest me to do I will do gladly, O father." Now the brethren of the monastery wherein lived MARYÂNÂ, whensoever they went out on the high roads, visited a certain believer, in order to rest a little and to refresh themselves, and since MARYÂNÂ was sent out, even according to what had been ordered by the archimandrite, the believing man whom the brethren visited saw him, (for he knew all the brethren of the monastery because he used to go to their monastery continually); and the believing man saw MARYÂNÂ at the season of evening, and he took him and brought him to his house, so that he might rest there for the night. And the believing man had a daughter, and on the night wherein MARYÂNÂ stayed with him a certain man seduced her, and he who had fallen upon her and seduced her commanded her, saying, "If thy father saith unto thee, Who is he that hath seduced thee? say thou unto him, It was MARYÂNÂ the monk." And as soon as MARYÂNÂ had departed from them, the father of the maiden knew that his daughter had been seduced,

and he asked her, saying, "Who hath seduced thee?" And she said unto him, "MARYÂNÂ, the monk, is he "who hath seduced me." Then the father of the maiden rose up straightway, and went to the monastery, and with tears he spake before the archimandrite and the whole brotherhood, and said, "What offence have I "committed against you that ye should seduce my "daughter?" Now when the archimandrite heard this he was greatly moved, and he said to him, "What "sayest thou? Who hath seduced thy daughter? Tell "me who he is that I may expel him from the monastery "forthwith;" and the man said unto him, "It is MARYÂNÂ "who hath seduced my daughter." Then the archiman- drite commanded that MARYÂNÂ should be called so that he might go forth from the monastery, but having been sought for throughout all the building MARYÂNÂ could not be found, and then they knew that he was out on a journey for the monastery; and the archiman- drite said unto the father of the maiden, "There is "nothing further which I can do except this: when "MARYÂNÂ returneth from the highway I will not allow "him to enter the monastery," and he gave orders to all the brethren of the monastery, saying, "When "MARYÂNÂ returns he is not to be allowed to enter "the monastery."

And when MARYÂNÂ came back from the road they would not allow him to enter the monastery, and he wept at the door thereof, and said, "What is my "offence that I am not permitted to enter the monastery?" Then the doorkeeper said to him, "[Thou art not per- "mitted to enter] because thou hast seduced the daughter "of the believing man whom the monks visit;" and MARYÂNÂ entreated the doorkeeper, saying, "For the "Lord's sake go in and persuade the archimandrite to "permit me to enter the monastery, and whatsoever "he ordereth me to do because of my fall I will do." So the doorkeeper went in and told the archimandrite everything which MARYÂNÂ had said, and the archiman-

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drite said to him, "Go and tell MARYÂNĂ, [saying], "Because thou hast done this thing thou shalt never "see my face again; get thee gone to whatsoever "place thou pleasest." When MARYÂNĂ heard these things he was greatly afflicted, and he sat by the door of the monastery night and day, and wept because of what had happened to him; and he besought those who went in and those who came out to entreat the archimandrite on his behalf, and although very many folk did so, and begged him to let MARYÂNĂ come into the monastery, the archimandrite would not be persuaded [to do so].

And after that maiden, through whom MARYÂNĂ had been trodden in the dust, had given birth to her child, her father took the boy to whom his daughter had given birth, and brought it to MARYÂNĂ, and said unto him, "Behold, here is thy son, take him and rear "him;" and MARYÂNĂ took the child, saying, "Glory "be to God Who can endure and bear with sinners "like myself." And each day he took the child and went up the mountain to the goats of the monastery, and suckled him with goats' milk, and when the child was suckled MARYÂNĂ returned to the door of the monastery; now he never left the door of the monastery except when he went to give the child milk, and he besought those who went in and those who came out, with tears, to unite with him in making supplication to God to forgive him his sin. And he sat by the door of the monastery for four years, and tears were never absent from his eyes, neither by night nor by day, and everyone who heard the sound of his weeping was grieved for his sake. Now after MARYÂNĂ had suffered affliction by the door of the monastery for four years, and had shewn the child to every man, saying, "Pray ye for me, for I fell into "fornication, and this child is the result thereof," God moved the mind of the archimandrite to bring MARYÂNĂ into the monastery, for His mercy was revealed upon

him, and He commanded the archimandrite to bring MARYÂNÂ in.

And as soon as MARYÂNÂ heard that they were going to bring him into the monastery from the man who told him about it beforehand, he rose up straightway, and fell down before the Lord, and said, "Glory be 'to Thee, O Lord, Who hath not been unmindful of 'such a [great] sinner as I am! I give thanks unto 'thee for all the goodness which thou hast shewn unto 'me. What have I to give unto Thee in return 'therefor? For Thou hast brought me into the mo- 'nastery, by the door of which I had decided in my 'mind that I must die." And as soon as those who had been sent to bring MARYÂNÂ into the monastery had done so, MARYÂNÂ fell down before the archiman- drite, and before the whole brotherhood of the monastery, now he was carrying the child and was weeping, and sighing, and groaning, and he said unto them, "For- 'give ye me, O masters and fathers, for I have angered 'God with [my] evil works, and you I have afflicted 'greatly; but pray for me, that God may forgive me 'the fall wherewith I fell."

And after many years MARYÂNÂ, having prevailed mightily in the great labours of spiritual excellence, delivered his soul to our Lord, and none of the brethren had ever seen him laugh or smile; on the contrary, he mourned all the days of his life. And when he was dead, the brethren drew nigh to anoint him with oil, according to the custom, and then they saw that MARYÂNÂ was a woman. Then the brethren ran quickly and called the man who had made the accusation against MARYÂNÂ, and when he had come and seen her, great wonder laid hold upon him, and he besought God to forgive him the great sin and wrong which he had done to MARYÂNÂ; and all those who heard and saw this glorified God that His saints fight so bravely for His Name's sake.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE HISTORY OF A CERTAIN SAGE AND OF THE WATCHING
OF THE MIND.

There was a certain old man who lived in his cell and performed mighty ascetic works, and who, whensoever the brethren of the CELLS were gathered together for the vigil of the First Day of the week, would come to the general assembly, and would act in such a way as to make the brethren despise him, and indeed they regarded him as a man who had gone out of his senses, although he did everything with discretion. Now God, the Good and Compassionate, did not wish the labours of the old man to be hidden, but He revealed and made known some of them for the benefit of the community, and He sent angels, who were in the forms of rich and honourable men, to the priest of the CELLS, and they came and saluted him; and when the priest saw them, he ran forward to meet them, for he thought that they who appeared to him were great and wealthy men, and he rose up immediately and saluted them. And after they had sat down and had held some converse with the old man, they besought him, saying, "O father, we beg of thee to allow us to go round the CELLS that we may be blessed by the Fathers;" and he accepted their petition, and permitted them to do whatsoever they wished, and they asked him to send to them one of the brethren. Then the priest called one of the brethren, and commanded him to go with them, and beckoning him aside he said unto him secretly, "Take heed lest thou take them to the cell of that [mad] old man, for when they see that he hath lost his reason they will be sorry they have met him." And when they had come out to go to the CELLS, the honourable men fell down before the priest of the CELLS, and said unto him, "O

"Father, give our brother orders to take us to see all "the fathers," and the priest said unto them, "I have "commanded him to take you to them all." And having gone to the fathers of the CELLS, and visited them, they returned to the priest in his cell, and he said unto them, "Are ye gratified now that ye have seen "the fathers?" And they said unto him, "O father, "we are gratified, but we are sorry about one thing, "that is to say, because thou didst command the brother "who went with us that we should not see all the "fathers." Then the priest called the brother who had gone with them, and said to him in their presence, "Did I not tell thee to take the brethren to all the "cells?" And the brother said, "Yea, father, thou didst "tell me so to do, and I took them to all the cells, and "they have seen all the brethren." Then the honourable men said to the priest, "Forgive us, father, but "there are some of the fathers whom we have not seen, "and we are greatly grieved thereat; but say a prayer "on our behalf so that we may depart."

And after the priest had prayed over them, and they had departed from him, he called the brother who had gone with them, and said unto him, "How did "these men know what I ordered thee [to do]? Didst "thou, perchance, reveal it unto them?" And the brother made repentance,¹ and said, "Forgive me, father, but "I did not reveal [thy orders] unto them." Then the priest knew that the matter was from God, and he rose up straightway and went to that old man whom he thought to be out of his mind, and he fell down on his face before him, and laid hold upon his feet, and besought him to reveal unto him his ascetic works and labours; and he swore to the old man that he would not rise up from the ground, and would not let go his hold upon him until he had done so, saying to the old man likewise, "That I should come to thee

¹ *I. e.*, expressed regret.

"and that thou shouldst reveal thy labours unto me, "are matters from God." Now the old man was unwilling to reveal his works, because he did not wish to be held in honour because of them, nevertheless he was compelled to do so because the priest had told him that the matter was from God, and he promised the priest to reveal unto him one thing; and when the priest heard the promise of the old man, he rose up from the ground, and seeing the old man in a gentle and tranquil frame of mind, he marvelled, because he had never before seen him as he was at that moment. Then the old man said unto the priest, "Depart, O father, I did not know that I did even "one good thing, but of such things which I have the "following is one:—I have by my side two baskets, "one on my right hand, and one on my left; for every "good thought which springeth up in my mind I take "a pebble and throw it into the basket which is on "my right hand; and for every hateful thought which "riseth in me, I also take a pebble and throw it into "the basket which is on my left hand, and this I do "every day. And when the time for the evening meal "hath arrived, I take out the pebbles, and count them, "and if the number of those which are in the basket "of good thoughts on my right hand do not exceed "those in the basket of evil thoughts on my left hand, "I do not take any supper that evening; and if they "do exceed then I eat, and rejoice, for sometimes it "happeneth that several days pass without my eating "at all, because the pebbles of the good deeds do not "exceed in number the pebbles of the bad ones. And "whensoever an abominable thought cometh to me, I "pass judgment on myself, and say, 'Take heed, for "'thou wilt not eat to-day!'" And having heard these things the priest praised God, the Lord of the universe, and he marvelled how the old man could perform such works of righteousness and yet keep them hidden from every man.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF TWO BROTHERS WHO DWELT IN A PERSIAN MONASTERY.

A certain history, which is full of pain and profit, O my beloved, came to me by chance, that is to say, through conversation and speech with the brethren, and I have thought much about it, and have determined that it is right for me to narrate it, and to set it down in writing, so that many from the reading of the same may acquire spiritual profit, and may watch against enmity, and may not have bitter hatred of one another for any reason whatsoever, and that each [of us] may be at peace with the other, and so that each [of us] may forgive the other any cause for murmuring or anger, and may remember the words of our Lord, and God, and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

There were two brethren who dwelt in one abode in a certain Persian monastery, and it happened that one of them had cause for dispute with the other, and they separated, each from the other, the one leaving the monastery altogether, and the other remaining in the abode wherein they had lived hitherto. And it came to pass that he who remained behind was seized, and bound, and shut up in prison, for [giving] testimony concerning our Lord, and he was brought before the judge, and was questioned by him once, twice, and a third time, and he bore severe stripes and did not deny Christ, and he was again fast bound in the prison house. Now when his companion heard [this] he repented in his soul, and he thought, "It is right that I should go and be reconciled with my brother, for perhaps, through this testimony which he persisteth in giving, he may depart from this world and go away, each of us keeping wrath against the other, and through this we both shall suffer no small loss, and probably I more than he." And when the brother

had meditated thus he came to the prison, and enquired for his companion, who was imprisoned there, and he went into his presence and fell down at his feet, and besought and entreated him to be reconciled to him; but the brother who was in fetters would not be persuaded to do this, and continued in his wrathful condition, and when the brother saw this he left him and departed in sorrow.

And on the following day the judge commanded and they brought in before him the man who was bound and in prison, and he asked him if he would be persuaded to deny his God and to worship the sun, and he would not agree to do either; and the judge gave orders that he was to be laid out and beaten, and to be smitten with rods, and when they had laid him out, and the strokes were being laid on him by two [men] at a time, he denied Christ. Now when the judge saw this, he commanded the men to stop beating him, and he called him to him, and asked him, saying, "What aileth thee? I caused thee to bear "severe stripes on three previous occasions, and thou "wast neither overcome nor didst play the coward's part, "and yet now, whilst they are coming near thee, thou "dost deny [thy God]." And the brother said, "I have "acted thus because I have sinned and treated with "contempt the commandments of the Lord my God, "Who commanded us to forgive each his offences. I "had once a brother in our Lord, and we lived together "in one monastery, and it happened that some cause "for anger rose up between us, and we separated from "each other in enmity. Yesterday he came to me in "prison, and fell down before me and begged for peace "from me, and I would not consent to be reconciled "unto him, and therefore the goodness of God was "cut off from me, and He did not help me this day "as He hath always done before, and I denied [Him]. "During the stripes which I received formerly I used "to see Him spread out about a hand's breadth above

"me, and He did not permit me to suffer, but to-day "He forsook me, and at a small amount of pain I was "terrified and I denied [Him]." Now when the judge had heard these things from him, he commanded that his fetters should be loosed from off him, and that he should be dismissed; and the brother, feeling disgrace and shame at the fall which had come upon him, went forth from the presence of the judge, and directed his way straight to his companion, and he fell down on his face at his feet, and wept and cried out bitterly, and entreated for mercy and peace; and when his companion looked upon him, he also suffered great grief, and he received him, and they were reconciled, and he prayed for him, and though the thing was bitter to him, they separated one from the other.

Then the brother who had denied his God straightway returned to the door of the judge, and he began to cry out and to curse the king, so that they might again bring him before the judge for examination; but the judge did not wish to say anything to him. And when the brother saw this, he departed from thence, and through penitence and grief for what had happened to him, and also through the pain and anguish of his soul, he threw himself, body and soul, into a fire temple; and he began to cast dust and everything else which came to his hands on the fire; and he cursed the king mightily, saying, "God will receive those who "have been tripped up and have fallen, if they repent "and turn unto Him." And he departed from thence also, and he wandered about and went hither and thither, and he threw stones at every magian or pagan whom he met, and he never ceased from reviling the king; and he never ceased or kept silent concerning the compassion of our Lord, which is laid out for those who repent, and he cried out, saying, "Verily, there "is no god except our Lord Jesus Christ, although I, "through my sins, and my negligence of His mercy, "have denied Him." Now when the judge heard these

things, he feared lest he would suffer a penalty and be condemned to death as one who had heard the king reviled, and had been neglectful; and straightway he sent forth a decree concerning him, and ordered that his head should be cut off quickly with the sword. And when they had seized the monk, and had taken him outside the city, he cried out with a loud voice, and said, "Blessed art Thou, O our Lord Jesus Christ, "for ten thousand times ten thousand sins are too few "for Thy mercy to forgive in one hour;" and having said this, they made him kneel down, and he was smitten by the sword and received mercy. Glory be to the Power Who maketh strong His saints to do His Will, and may we have mercy shewn unto us through their prayers, for ever and ever, Amen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE HISTORY OF A CERTAIN VIRGIN WHO GREW OLD IN THE WORKS OF THE FEAR OF GOD.

It was related by a certain old man who said:— There was a virgin, who was far advanced in years, and who had grown old in the fear of God, and having been asked by me to tell me the reason why she left the world, she began, with sighs, to speak to me as follows:—Great and marvellous things have happened unto me. When I was a young girl I had a father, who was a pleasant man, and who was modest in his disposition; now he was a delicate man in health, and he was always suffering from some kind of sickness, and he lived entirely to himself, and never interfered in the affairs of other people, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could be induced to see the people of his village. When he was in good health he devoted his attention unceasingly to the care of

his estate, and he occupied himself at all seasons with the cultivations of his fields; but finally he was obliged to pass many long days of his life laid out on a bed of sickness, and he was so quiet that those who were not acquainted with him would have thought that he was deaf. And I had a mother, who, in all her ways and manners, was the opposite of my father, and she used to do things which were beyond her capacity; her words to every one were many, and she poured out her speech uselessly to every one, and she talked so much that every one imagined that her body must be composed wholly of tongues. Moreover, she had quarrels with her neighbours continually, and she was always in a state of drunkenness, and she drank shamelessly at all times with wanton folk, and she managed the affairs of her house badly, after the manner of a harlot; and at length, although the house was well furnished with goods of every kind, it was with the greatest difficulty that the people could find enough to supply our wants. She was very lax in her care for the things which my father required in his illness, but she displayed the utmost attention in providing for her own body in a disgraceful manner, and the people of the village at length fled before her shameless appearance. No illness ever came upon her, and she had never been ill in the whole course of her life, from the day she was born, and she was healthy in body until her death.

When therefore, I, a wretched girl, had lived for some time in such circumstances as these, it happened that, after struggling against a long illness, that is to say, my father was obliged to pass every day of his life in the infirmity of sickness, at length he departed from the world. Now at the very moment of his death the weather changed, and the rain poured down in torrents, and lightnings and thunders were tearing through the air and disturbing it violently, and it was impossible to tell whether it was day or whether

it was night; for this reason my father lay dead on his bier for three days, for the weather did not permit him to be buried. And, moreover, it made the people of the village to shake their heads, and they wondered, and said, "Perhaps great wickednesses were committed by this man secretly, and he may have been found to be such an enemy of God that even the earth will not permit his burial;" but, in order that his body might not go wholly to corruption, even though the weather was gloomy and threatening, and the rain had not ceased, by some means or other we carried him [to the grave], and laid him therein. Now my mother, as one who had found great relief, forthwith fulfilled unreprieved her wanton lusts to the utmost, and she straightway turned my father's house into an abode of harlots, and she lived there in such a state of luxury and lascivious pleasure that soon of all the goods in it only a mere remnant was left, and that remnant she left to me when I was very young. Then with difficulty came Death to my mother, and in my opinion, he was afraid to approach her, for great worms grew in her, and with much trouble she was buried, the weather by its serenity, and the sun by his splendour helping [in the work].

Now after the death of my mother, and whilst I was still a little girl, I left the world. During the period when I was a young woman the lusts of the body were stirred up within me, and they goaded me severely, and I used to rise up in the evening (*or*, night) that I might lie down again and find a little relief from the disturbance in my mind. And a struggle went on in my thoughts, for I wondered what manner of life I should choose for myself, and how I should end the days of my life, and whether they would be passed in quietness, and happiness, and fair chastity, even as they were during my father's lifetime. Then my thoughts spake unto me thus:—"Behold, in this world thy father did not enjoy any happiness what-

“soever, but he passed all his life in sickness and “wretchedness, and he departed from this world of “trouble under the same circumstances, and even the “earth was unwilling to receive his body; are [men] “to receive such a life as this from (?) God, and why “did my father deserve such treatment? On the other “hand, supposing I choose to live a life like that of “my mother, will that be any better to deliver my “body over to fornication, and lasciviousness, and the “gratification of [my] lusts? For, behold, my mother “left no kind of abominable wickedness which she “did not commit, and she destroyed her whole life “with her depravity, and yet she departed from this “world having enjoyed health and prosperity every day “[of her life]! What then? Is it not then right for “me to live even as she lived? For it is better that “I should believe with mine own eyes, and that they “should see for themselves the variety and the ending “of such matters, for there is nothing better than to “understand thoroughly whatsoever we see openly before “our eyes.”

And I, the wretched girl, vainly imagined that such thoughts were the thoughts of truth, and for this reason I determined to prepare myself to live even as my mother had lived. Now when the night had overtaken me, and immediately sleep had fallen upon me after thinking thoughts of this kind, a certain man, of huge stature, stood up above me; and his appearance was frightful, and his form made me tremble and terrified me, and his face was hard, and in a stern voice he asked me, saying, “Tell me, so and so, what are these “thoughts which are in thy heart?” And, because I was terrified by his appearance and form, I scarcely dared to look upon him, and in a voice which was sterner than before he commanded me to reveal to him the things which I had settled in my own mind to do. And being stupefied with fear I forgot all my thoughts, and I said unto him, “My lord, I know not what thou

"sayest," and having thus denied that I knew, he reminded me of everything which I had thought out in my mind, one after the other. Therefore, having rebuked myself, I turned and begged and entreated him that I might be held worthy of forgiveness, and I related unto him the reason for such thoughts. Then he straightway said unto me, "I am about to shew thee both thy father and thy mother, and the [different] manner of life which they lead, and the things which each doeth, and thou shalt choose which life thou wilt lead." And he took me by my hands, and drew me away, and carried me to an exceedingly great plain, wherein there were many paradises, and thick trees heavily laden with fruits, which for appearance and beauty surpassed description. Now when I had entered into that plain, my father met me, and embraced me, and kissed me, and he held converse with me and called me "my daughter," and whilst I was in his embrace I besought him that I might remain with him, but he said unto me, "At present it is impossible, but if thou desirest to walk chastely in my footsteps thou shalt come hither after no great time."

And as I remained and was making my supplication unto him, he who had brought me to this place drew me on, and I was lifted up in his hands, and he said unto me, "Come and see thy mother also in the fire which is blazing fiercely, so that thou mayest know how to choose what is good, and towards which manner of life it will be useful and beneficial for thee to incline." Then he shewed me a fiery furnace which was burning fiercely, and every kind of thing of cruel wrath surrounded the furnace, and I heard proceeding therefrom the sound of weeping and of gnashing of teeth. And having looked down into the furnace I saw my mother sunk in fire up to her neck, and she was weeping and gnashing her teeth, and she was being consumed in the fire, and she was being gnawed

by a multitude of worms; and when she saw me she cried out with tears in a loud voice and, addressing me with the words, "my daughter," she said, "Woe is me, O my daughter, for these things have come upon me because of my evil deeds, and because I held to be madness the things which were said unto me concerning chastity, and the punishments which were declared to fall upon those who committed fornication and adultery. And, behold, in return for my lascivious pleasure I have to suffer torture, because I did not think that vengeance was laid up therefor! And, behold, in return for a little pleasure and the momentary gratification of my desire, what everlasting punishment I have to endure, and what penalty is there which I am not compelled to pay? And consider, moreover, that in return for the short-lived happiness which I, O wretched woman, enjoyed, I have to pay a prolonged penalty. And because I despised God what evil wages I have to receive! All these things have overtaken me because I behaved rebelliously, but, behold, now is the time for helping me, O my daughter. Remember now with what anxious care and attention thy bringing up was carried out, and the helpful things which I brought thee, and to speak briefly, all the good which I did for thee. Have mercy upon the woman who burneth in the fire. Have mercy upon the woman who hath been cast into such tortures as these. Have pity upon me, O my daughter, and stretch out thy hand, and lift me up out of this place." Now I excused myself from doing this on account of him that stood by my side, and again she wept and cried out to me, saying, "O my daughter, help me. O my daughter, have pity upon me, and come to me. Neglect not thy mother who gnasheth her teeth [in pain], and treat not with indifference her who suffereth torment in Gehenna."

Now as, after the nature of a human being, I felt pain because of her tears and her mournful voice, I

began to cry out loudly, and to sigh and moan bitterly, and then all those who were sleeping in our house awoke, and when they had risen up, they questioned me and I told them the reason of the outcry and disturbance, and I narrated unto them everything which had appeared unto me. These are the things through which, by the rich mercy of God, I chose to follow the life and works of my father, and I was persuaded to be governed, and through Divine Providence I am confirmed in my belief that such punishments are laid up for those who desire to live an evil life.

Such are the things which we heard from the virgin who is worthy of blessing, and from them we may know what delights, according to the things which appeared unto her in the revelation, are laid up for those who wish to live in a state of spiritual excellence, and what punishments are prepared for those who choose to live a wicked and wanton life. And because of these things it is meet that we should strive to the utmost to live a life of virtue, and to excel therein, so that, by the help of God, we may through our life and deeds merit the happiness [of heaven]. Amen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF STEPHÂNÂ, A MAN WHO FELL INTO FILTHY WANTONNESS.

There was a certain man in Scete whose name was STEPHÂNÂ, who had dwelt in the desert for twenty-nine years; his apparel was made of palm leaves, and he lived in such a strict state of self-denial, and persisted to such a degree in ascetic abstinence that he never had the least inclination for the meats which are usually desired, and which are pleasant to the taste; and he greatly condemned those,

who because of sickness, either ate cooked food or drank cream. Now the gift of healing had been given to him to such a degree that he could cast out devils by a word. And it came to pass that on one occasion a man in whom was an unclean spirit came to Scete, and he wished to be healed, and when the monk saw that he was vexed sorely by the devil he made a prayer and healed him. But at length this monk was rejected by Divine Providence because of his immeasurable arrogance and haughtiness, for he imagined himself to be more excellent in his life and works than the other fathers; first of all he separated himself from the brotherhood, and then he went and became archimandrite in one of the Alexandrian monasteries, "For," he said in his pride, "am I to be in subjection to MACARIUS? And are not my life and works better than his?" And this man arrived at such a state of madness that he went to Alexandria, and gave himself up to gluttony, and drunkenness, and to the eating of more flesh than rational beings are wont to eat, and finally he fell and settled down into the pit of the lust for women; and he was always going about in the houses of harlots, and in the taverns of ill fame, and he clung closely to the whores, and gratified his lusts in a filthy manner without shame, and he became a laughingstock to all who knew him. But the spirit went forth to those who knew him, saying, "The law was not made for the perfect," and he himself said, "I do not act [thus] because of passion and fornication, neither do I do anything which is abominable, for it is not a sin to go with women, for male and female were created by God."

And it fell out that one day I and the blessed man EVAGRIUS went to Alexandria on some business which called us thither. And we had with us four brethren; and as we were passing through the city market that monk met us accidentally, and he was talking with a harlot about his filthy lust; and when

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the blessed EVAGRIUS saw him, he wept, and fell down at his feet and made obeisance unto him, but the man did not incline his head in the smallest degree, and with infinite arrogance and haughtiness he made answer to him, saying, "What do hypocrites and deceivers seek here?" Then the blessed EVAGRIUS entreated him to go with us to the place where we were lodging, but he did not by any means wish to go; and when, with the greatest difficulty, he had been persuaded to go with us, so soon as we had entered in and prayed, the blessed EVAGRIUS fell upon his neck and kissed him, and with tears said unto him, "Verily, O my beloved, from all that divine service of angels thou hast been brought down to this depth of wickedness; and thou hast turned thyself from converse with God to converse with harlots; and instead of the life and service of angels thou hast chosen the life of devils! But I beseech and entreat thee not to cut off the hope of thy redemption, but arise, and come with us to the desert, for by my hands God the Merciful is able to restore thee to thy former grade." Now his understanding had been so blinded by Satan that he did not know how to listen to what was said unto him, nor did he know what he answered. And he said unto EVAGRIUS, "Up to the present I have certainly been wandering about, but now I have found the path of truth," and he began to make a mock of the fathers, and to say, "Ye certainly wander about (*z. e., err*), and ye dwell in the desert under a false character, for the sake of men, and not for the sake of God, and ye are to the spectators as idols whom men decorate, and to whom they pay worship;" and thus, being full of the pride and boasting of Satan, he spurned the fathers and went forth and departed, and the blessed EVAGRIUS and the brethren wept and groaned over him greatly.

Then that man carried off a certain virgin, who was an orphan and a nun living by herself, with a foul

design to his monastery, and though he did this with the excuse that he was going to help her by means of alms of which she was in need, it was in reality that he might fulfil his wanton desire. And having lived with her in this degraded state for about two years, at length there came to him thieves by night, who first tied him with cords, and then smote him with hard and cruel blows, until he brought out whatsoever he had in his dwelling and laid it before them; and last of all they shut him up with the woman with whom he used to work out his wantonness in a house wherein there was straw, and, both of them being bound with cords, the thieves set fire to the house, and thus the two were consumed, and they died a bitter death. And in them was fulfilled that which was spoken by the teacher of the Gentiles, who said, "Because they did not decide within themselves "to know God, God delivered them over to the knowledge of vanity, that they might disgrace their bodies "therewith, and they received the reward which befitted their error in their own persons;"¹ that is to say, "The burning of the fire which is here is a pledge "of that fire which tormenteth all the wicked." Now the things which happened to Stéphânâ took place because he separated himself from the brotherhood, and because he was [unduly] exalted in his mind, and because he imagined that he was perfect.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF EUCARPUS.

And there was also in the desert a certain man whose name was EUCARPUS, who had passed

¹ Romans I. 24.

eighteen years shut up in his cell; and the food which was necessary for his wants was brought by others. He had lived in seclusion for fifteen years, and he never spoke to any man [during that period] except when he was in need of something. He used to write upon paper [what he wished to say], and would give it to those who ministered unto him, and he also did thus when any man asked him a question or spoke to him; his food consisted of vegetables soaked in water, and pounded garden herbs, and he carried out his rule of life with infinite labour. Finally, however, the devils made him a laughingstock also, because of the vain opinion which he had concerning himself. First of all he separated himself from mingling with the brethren and conversing with them, and next he ceased to meditate on the Holy Scriptures, and he did nothing except pray continually; for he was proud and haughty in his mind, and he thought that he was perfect, and that on account of the purity of his heart, forsooth, he was always seeing God in his mind, for he that tempteth tempted him also, even as he had tempted the blessed man Job. And one night Satan appeared unto him in the form of an angel of light, and said unto him, "I am Christ;" and when EUCARPUS saw him, he thought that the appearance was a real person, and he fell down, and worshipped him, and said unto him, "Master, what commandest thou thy servant [to do]?" And he who had appeared unto him, said unto him, "Since thou hast excelled many in thy works, and hast kept all my commandments, I desire greatly to make my abode with thee; but since thou art perfect, it is not necessary for thee to shut thyself up, and it is no longer right that thou shouldst live in seclusion, but thou must teach all the brethren not to destroy their souls with the reading of the Scriptures, and the reciting of the Psalms. And they must not labour in the toil of the body, and they must not vex their souls with fasting, and hunger,

"and thirst, but they must labour with the labour of the soul, for by these means they shall be able speedily to be lifted up to the highest grade, and they must always look at me with their minds, and I will shew them my glory. And as for thee, since thou hast raised thyself above all the monks by thy works, behold, I make thee this day a chief and a governor over all the monks who dwell in Scete. For MACARIUS is not of as much use as a governor as thou art." Then EUCARPUS was more lifted up in his mind than before, and he was far more proud, and he believed truly the error of the Crafty One, and his understanding was taken away from him, and he was smitten in his mind immediately he had worshipped the Calumniator.

Now on another day there was a congregation in the church, and Satan appeared unto EUCARPUS a second time, and said unto him, "Go thou this day, for all the brethren are gathered together, and teach them everything which I commanded thee yesterday in the night season." Then EUCARPUS opened the door of the house wherein he secluded himself, and departed to go to the church; and it happened that ABBÂ JOHN was sitting by the side of the church, and the brethren were round about him, and were asking him about their thoughts. And when EUCARPUS came, and saw JOHN with the brethren surrounding him, he was filled with envy of him, and he answered and said unto JOHN with haughtiness and wicked wrath, "Why dost thou adorn thyself and dost sit down, like a whore, who wisheth to multiply her friends? Or, who commanded thee to be a corrector of others, seeing that it is I who am the governor of the monastery?" Now when the brethren heard [these words], they were greatly moved, and said unto him, "And who made thee a governor in Scete?" And EUCARPUS said unto them, "Yesterday in the night I was made governor by Christ, therefore turn ye to me, and I will teach

"you the way, whereby ye shall easily ascend to the high grade of the vision of glory; and moreover, go not ye astray after the writings of EVAGRIUS, neither hearken ye unto the words of JOHN, for ye have wandered far enough into error already."

Then he began to revile the fathers, and he called MACARIUS a "painted idol" whom those who err worship, for he knoweth not how to lead the brethren on the path towards heavenly things; and EVAGRIUS he called "a hewer of words" who hath led the brethren into error by following his writings, and hath made them to cease from spiritual service. And the devils made a mock of EUCARPUS until they were able to lift him up and to dash him down upon the earth, but all these things which fell upon him took place because he condemned the brethren, and because through his pride and arrogance he held them in contempt, and because he did not desire to meditate upon the Holy Scriptures, and on the doctrine of the fathers. And finally, when the fathers saw that he was smitten in mind, they threw iron fetters on him and bound him therewith, and he lived with them upon him; and the holy fathers offered up prayer on his behalf for eleven whole months, and then his mind returned to him, and he was so thoroughly cured of his pride that he perceived his weakness, and recognized his disease whereby he had been made a mock of by the devils. And in him was fulfilled that which was said, "Old blains (*or*, wounds) "are cured by burnings" and, "Thou who didst exalt thyself to heaven shalt be brought down even unto "Sheol."¹ Now EUCARPUS lived after he had been cured of his arrogance one year and one month; and the fathers commanded that he should minister unto the sick, and that he should wash the feet of strangers, and thus he died.

¹ Isaiah XIV. 13, 15.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF A CERTAIN FAMOUS DEACON WHO DWELT IN A
COENOBIIUM IN EGYPT.

A certain brother asked an old man and said unto him, "If it should happen that a man fell into temptation, 'by the permission of God, for the benefit of his soul, 'what is it right for those to do who are made to 'stumble by the same temptation?" The old man answered and said unto him, "If he repent in very 'truth, and with all his heart, and make confession 'unto God in his repentance, [saying,] 'I have been "'rightly humbled,' and shall say unto God, 'It is good "'for me that I have been humbled, so that I might "'learn Thy commandments,' God is able to heal the "'consciences of those who have already offended Him." And the old man spake and narrated the following:—

There was a certain deacon in a coenobium in Egypt, and a rich man, who had been driven out and had departed from the presence of a governor who had dominion over him, came with his household to that coenobium; and the deacon stumbled and fell into adultery with the wife of one of those who were with him, and he became a laughingstock unto every man. And he went to a certain man who was his friend, and revealed unto him the matter, and he said unto him, "Let no man know where I am;" for he hid himself in a secret part of the cell of him that loved him, and he said unto him, "Here bury thou me during "my lifetime;" and having gone down into the darkness of that hidden place he repented unto God in very truth. And after a certain time, the river, which was nigh unto the place in the region wherein the deacon had hidden himself, did not rise according to its wont, and the people of the country having prayed and made supplication it was revealed unto one of the saints

that, "Unless that deacon who is hidden among us come forth, the waters will not rise." So they went and brought him out from the place where he was hidden, and when he had come, and had made a prayer, straightway the river rose, and those who had been formerly offended by him were now edified the more, and they profited through him greatly and glorified God.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF A CERTAIN EXCELLENT BISHOP WHO FELL INTO FORNICATION, AND THE PEOPLE HAVING WALKED UPON HIM HE WAS FORGIVEN.

There was a certain Bishop in one of the cities, who, through the working of the Calumniator fell into fornication; and one day when the congregation was in the church, although no one knew of the Bishop's sin, he voluntarily confessed it before all the assembly, and said, "I have fallen into fornication." Then he took off the vestments which were on him, and laid them upon the altar, and said, "I cannot, henceforward, be your Bishop." And all the people cried out with tears, saying, "Let this sin be upon us; only remain thou in thine episcopate." And he answered and said unto them, "If ye wish me to remain in my episcopate, do ye that which I shall say unto you;" and he commanded, and all the doors of the church were shut with the exception of one, and he threw himself down upon his face, and said, "The man who goeth out from the church without walking upon me shall have no portion with God;" and they did according to his word, and when the last man had gone out, a voice was heard which said, "Because of his great humility I have forgiven to him his sin."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF A CERTAIN BROTHER WHO WAS A NEIGHBOUR OF
ABBÂ POEMEN.

When ABBÂ POEMEN came into the countries of Egypt to dwell there, it happened that he took up his abode by the side of a brother who had a wife, and though the old man knew of this he did not rebuke him. And when the time had come for the woman to bring forth, and this was known to the old man, he cried out to a younger brother, and said unto him, "Arise, take this jar of wine and carry [it] to "our neighbour, for he will have need thereof this day." Now the matter was not known to that brother, but he did as the old man commanded him. And the brother [who had a wife] groaned and repented in his mind, and after a few days he dismissed the woman and gave her whatsoever he happened to have by him; then he came to ABBÂ POEMEN, and said unto him, "Behold, from this day onwards I repent, O father, "but I entreat thee to pray to God on my behalf so "that He may receive my repentance." And ABBÂ POEMEN said unto him, "If thou repentest with all thy "heart, I believe that God will bestow forgiveness upon "thee; but do not despair of thy redemption." And the brother went and built for himself a place of retreat, and he made therein an entrance through which he used to come to visit the old man; and he would go to ABBÂ POEMEN thereby, and the old man would reveal unto him the way of God, and thus he profited spiritually. And the brother laboured in fasting, and in prayer, and he wept and sighed, and grieved sorely for his sin; and [at length] it was revealed unto the old man on behalf of the brother that God had accepted his repentance.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OF A CERTAIN BROTHER WHO DENIED [CHRIST] BECAUSE
OF THE DAUGHTER OF A HEATHEN PRIEST.

Once a certain brother was engaged in a war against fornication, and he happened to pass through a village in Egypt where he saw the daughter of a heathen priest, and he loved her, and he said to her father, "Give her to me to wife." And the priest answered and said unto him, "I cannot give her to thee before "learning from the god [his will in the matter];" and he went to his devil, and said unto him, "Behold, a certain "monk wisheth to take my daughter to wife; shall I "give her to him or not?" And the devil made him answer, saying, "Seek out and enquire if he will deny "his God, and his baptism, and the vows which he "made before entering the monastic life." And having gone to the brother the priest told him that he would accept him [as his daughter's husband] if he would deny both these things (*sic*), and the priest also said unto him, "Wilt thou deny the baptism wherewith thou "wast baptized? And the brother answered and said, "Yea, I will;" and straightway he saw the Spirit of God go forth from his mouth in the form of a dove, and ascend into heaven. Then the priest went to the devil and told him what the brother had said, "Behold, "he hath promised to deny all three things;" and the devil answered and said unto him, "Thou shalt not "give [him] thy daughter, for his God hath not departed "from him, for He is still helping him, and will accept "him if he repenteth." And the priest came and said to that brother, "I cannot give her to thee, for thy "God is with thee, and He will not leave thee, but "will help thee." Now when the brother heard this he said within himself, "So God keepeth such great "grace as this for thee, and will still help thee!"

Then that brother, having come back to his senses, made strong his mind, and fortified his will, and went forth to a certain old man in the desert, and related the matter unto him. And the old man answered and said unto him, "Sit thou down here with me in [this] cave, and fast for three weeks, only eating once every two days, and I will make supplication on thy behalf unto God;" and the old man laboured with the brother, and he made entreaty and supplication unto God, saying, "I beseech Thee, O Lord God, to grant me the soul of this brother, and to accept his repentance." And when the first week was fulfilled, the old man came to the brother, and asked him, saying, "Hast thou seen anything?" and the brother answered and said, "Yes, I have seen a dove flying about in the heights of heaven, and standing before my head." And the old man said unto him, "Take heed to thyself, and pray unto God with groans and sighs;" and the following week he came again to the brother, and asked him the same question, saying, "Hast thou seen anything?" And the brother made answer, saying, "I saw a dove which came and drew near to my head," and the old man admonished him, saying, "Rouse up, and pray unto God with abundant supplication." And when the third week was fulfilled, the old man came to the brother, and said unto him, "What hast thou seen?" And he answered and said unto him, "I saw a dove which came and stood upon my head, and I stretched out my hand and took hold of it, but it fled away and entered into my mouth." Then the old man gave thanks unto God, and said unto the brother, "God hath accepted thy repentance; henceforward watch thyself and take heed to thyself;" and the brother answered and said, "Behold, from this day onwards I shall live with thee, O father, even to the day of my death."

CHAPTER XXX.

OF A CERTAIN OLD MAN IN SCETE.

There was a certain old man in Scete, who having become very sick indeed, was ministered to by the brethren, and he thought in his mind that they were tired of him, and he said, "I will go to Egypt, so that the brethren may not have to labour on my account." And ABBÂ MOSES said unto him, "Thou shalt not go, for if thou goest, thou wilt fall into fornication;" and the old man was grieved, and said, "My body hath long been dead, and sayest thou these things unto me?" So he went up to Egypt, and men heard about him, and they brought many offerings unto him, and a certain believing virgin came in faith to minister unto him. And after a time, when the old man had been healed, the young woman lay with him, and she conceived, and folk asked her, saying, "Whence hadst thou that which thou hast conceived?" And she said unto them, "From the old man," and they believed her not. Now when the old man heard that they would not believe her, he said, "Yea, I have done this thing; but protect ye for me the child which shall be born." And when the child had been born, and was weaned, there was a congregation in Scete, and the old man went down carrying the child on his shoulder, and he went into the church before all the people; and when they saw him they all wept. Then the old man said unto the brethren, "Observe ye, O my brethren, this is the child of disobedience; take heed, then, unto yourselves, for I have committed this act in my old age, and pray ye for me;" and the old man went to his cell, and dismissed the things wherewith he had lived, and returned to his former deeds, and after a time he arrived [once more] at his old measure of ascetic excellence.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE HARLOT WHOM SERAPION CONVERTED.

ABBÀ SERAPION once came and passed through a certain village in Egypt, and he saw a harlot standing in his cell; and the old man said unto her, "Remain here until the evening, for I wish to come with thee, and to pass this night with thee;" and the harlot said, "It is well, O father." Then she made ready, and prepared her bed, and she awaited the old man with that which he required. Now when it was evening ABBÀ SERAPION came, but he brought nothing with him, and he went into her cell, and said unto her, "Is thy bed ready?" And she said unto him, "Yea, father;" and they shut themselves in. Then the old man answered and said unto her, "Wait a little, because I must first perform a certain thing which is a law unto us." And he began to recite the Book of the Psalms of David from the beginning, and with every Psalm he offered up a prayer on her behalf, and he made supplication before God that she might repent and live, and God hearkened unto him. And the harlot stood up in fear by the side of the old man, and prayed also, and when ABBÀ SERAPION had finished all the Psalms, she fell down upon the ground, and he began to repeat many verses from the [books of the] Apostle. When he had finished his service, God having opened the heart of that woman, she knew that ABBÀ SERAPION had not come unto her for the purposes of sin, but that he might redeem her, and she fell on her face before him, and said unto him, "Perform an act of grace for me, O father, and take me to any place whatsoever wherein I can please God." And he took her to an abode of nuns, and placed her therein, and he said to the mistress of the convent, "Take this sister, O mother, and lay not upon

"her the rules and the yoke like the [other] sisters, "but whatsoever she requireth that give her; and in "proportion as she findeth rest let her submit to be "led." And when the woman had dwelt in the nunnery for a few days, she said, "I am a sinful woman, and "I wish to eat only in the evening;" and after a few days more she said, "Many sins lie to my charge, and "I therefore beg that I may eat once every four days," and she did so; and after a few days more, she besought the mistress of the nunnery, saying, "Do an "act of grace for me. Since I have made God exceedingly angry, take me into a cell, and wall it up, "and through a small opening therein give me a little "bread, and work for my hands [to do]." And the abbess of the nunnery hearkened unto her, and did thus, and in this wise that woman pleased God all the days of her life.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE HARLOT WHOM A SUB-DEACON DROVE OUT OF THE CHURCH.

A certain old man said:—There was a harlot who was so beautiful and so rich that all princes flocked unto her. One day she went into the church, and desired to pass inside the gates, but a sub-deacon who was standing at the door would not allow her to do so, and he said, "Thou art not allowed to enter into "the house of God, because thou art an unclean woman." Now whilst they were striving together, the Bishop heard the sound of the noise, and he went out to see [what was the matter]. And the harlot said unto him, "He would not permit me to go into the church," and the Bishop said to her, "Thou art not permitted [to "do so] because thou art unclean." Then, having repented within herself, she said, "I will never play the whore

"again." And the Bishop said unto her, "If thou wilt strip thyself of all thy possessions, I shall know of a certainty that thou dost repent;" then she brought her possessions, and the Bishop took them, and divided them in the fear of God among the needy. And the woman went into the church, and wept and said, "If it hath happened to me thus in this world, what would have happened to me in the next?" And she repented, and became a chosen vessel.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF ABBÂ APOLLO WHO WAS IN SCETE.

They say concerning ABBÂ APOLLO, who lived in Scete, that he was originally a rude and brutish herdsman, and that he [once] saw in the fields a woman who was with child, and that, through the operation of a devil, he said, "I wish to know the condition of the child which is in the womb of this woman," and that he ripped her open and saw the child in her belly; then straightway he repented, and he purged his heart, and having repented he went to Scete, and revealed unto the fathers what he had done. And when he heard them singing the Psalms, and saying, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten, and with difficulty [we come] to fourscore years,"¹ he said to the old men, "I am forty years old this day, and I have never yet made a prayer; and now, if I live for forty years more, I will never rest, nor cease, nor refrain from praying to God continually that He may forgive me my sins." And from that time onwards he did even as he had said, for he never toiled in the work of his hands, but he was always supplicating God,

¹ Psalm xc. 10.

and saying, "I, O my Lord, like a man, have sinned, "and do Thou, like God, forgive me," and he prayed this prayer both by night and by day instead of reciting Psalms. And a certain brother who used to dwell with him once heard him say in his prayer, now as he spake he wept, and groaned from the bottom of his heart, and sighed in grief of heart, "O my Lord, "I have vexed Thee, have pity upon me, and forgive "me so that I may enjoy a little rest." Then a voice came to him, which said, "Thy sins have been forgiven thee, and also the murder of the woman; but the "murder of the child is not yet forgiven thee." And one of the old men said, "The murder of the child also "was forgiven to him, but God left him to work because this would prove beneficial to his soul."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF KÔSMÂ [COSMAS] WHO WAS IN MOUNT SINAI.

A certain brother asked an old man, and said unto him, "How is it that Satan bringeth temptations upon "holy men?" And the old man said, "I have heard that there was a holy man whose name was KÔZMÂ [COSMAS], who used to dwell in Mount Sinai. And behold, a certain man went to the tabernacle (*or*, tent) of a husbandman, and finding his daughter by herself, he lay with her, and then said to her, When thy father cometh say unto him, ABBÂ KÔZMÂ, the monk, hath lain with me;" and when her father came, she told him [thus]. Then he took his sword, and came against the old man, and when he had knocked at the door, and the old man had gone forth, he lifted up his sword to slay him, but his hand withered straightway; and he went to the church and told the people there what the old man had done. And the

fathers sent after him and brought him there, and having upbraided him, and beaten him with many stripes they wished to drive him out of the monastery; but he entreated them, saying, "Allow me [to stay] here that I may repent, for God's sake," and they separated him [from the brotherhood] for three years, and they laid down the command that no man was to go to him. And he passed three years in coming [to the church] Sunday by Sunday, and in repenting, and he besought [the fathers] always to pray for him, and at length the devil entered into him that had committed the act of which the old man had been accused, and, being urged by him, he said, "I committed the act." Then all the people were gathered together, and they went to the old man and expressed their penitence, and said unto him, "Forgive us, O father;" and he said unto them, "I have indeed forgiven you, but it is impossible for me to remain with you henceforth, because I have not found in any one of you discretion sufficient to make him to sympathize with me." And so he departed from them. Behold, how temptations come upon holy men.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF ABBÂ MACARIUS WHO WAS ACCUSED OF COMMITTING FORNICATION.

ABBÂ MACARIUS used to tell a story about himself, and to say that when he was a boy he dwelt in a certain cell in Egypt, and that the people came and made him the priest in the village, and that as he did not wish to receive [the office of priest] he fled to another place, and took up his abode in a cell which was not very far from the habitations of men. And a certain young man who feared God, used to come

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and take away the work of the hands of the blessed man, and to minister unto him. And it came to pass that, as a result of temptation, a certain virgin in the village fell into iniquity (?), and conceived a child, and the folk said unto her, "By whom art thou with child?" And she said, "By that monk who liveth in the desert;" and they went out, and brought him into their village, and smote him sorely, and they hung round his neck black pots, and the ears (handles) of empty pans, and they made him to go round about through the markets of their village, and they mocked at him and buffeted him, and said, "This is the monk who hath seduced 'our daughter! Let him be hanged! Let him be 'hanged!' And they beat him [nearly] to death.

Then came one of the old men of the village and said [unto them], "How long will ye go on beating 'this monk who is a stranger?" And the man who ministered unto him came after him, and he was ashamed and pained because of his disgrace, and the people fastened their gaze upon him, and said, "Behold 'the monk concerning whom thou didst bear witness 'and say that he was 'a holy man.'" "Consider 'what he hath done," said the parents of the young woman, "and unless he giveth us a surety who will 'provide for her food we will not release him." Then he said unto the man who ministered unto him, "Give 'a pledge on my behalf, saying, 'I will provide for 'that';" and he gave a pledge for him, and then the monk went to his cell and gave him all the palm-leaf mats thereof, and said to him, "Sell these and give '[the money] to my wife that she may eat." For MACARIUS said in his mind, "Behold, thou hast found 'for thyself a wife, and it is necessary for thee to 'work little or much that thou mayest feed her;" so he worked by night and by day, and sent [the proceeds of his toil] to her.

And it came to pass that, when the time for the woman to bring forth her child had arrived, she suf-

ferred very severely for many days, and [although] she was in great tribulation she did not give birth to the child; and when her parents saw this they said unto her, "What is this which hath happened unto thee?" Then the woman, by reason of her pains and sufferings, said, "This has happened because I told a lie and 'falsely accused a monk who never touched me;' now it was such and such a youth who had done this thing to her. And when the man who ministered unto MACARIUS learned this, he came to him with gladness, and he rejoiced and said unto him, "The virgin was 'not able to bring forth until she confessed and said, 'The monk never touched me, and what I have said 'about him is a falsehood,' and behold, all the village 'is preparing to come to thee with repentance so that 'thou mayest forgive them.'" And MACARIUS, in order that he might not be troubled by them, rose up straightway, and fled and departed to the place wherein he had his abode at that time, and this is the reason why he came to Scete; and he said, "I hate the love of praise of young men who toil, and who have no reward, because they expect the adulation of the 'children of men.'" Then another well-known old man said unto him, "And it is not greatly acceptable unto me, but it is better that they should work for praise rather than they should despise [it], for it always constraineth those who love praise to lead lives of abstinence, and to keep vigil, and to live in nakedness for the sake of vain glory, and to bear afflictions for the sake of praise." Then after these things the Grace of God came to them and spake, saying, "Wherefore do ye not toil for My sake? And why do ye toil for the sake of children of men?" And they were convinced that they must not expect the praise of men but that of God, and when the brethren heard [this] they said, "Verily the matter is indeed thus."

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF A CERTAIN OLD MAN WHO, IN HIS SIMPLICITY, SAID
THAT MELCHISEDEK WAS THE SON OF GOD.

And ABBÂ DANIEL told a story of another old man who used to live in the lower countries of Egypt, and who said, in his simplicity, that MELCHISEDEK was the son of God. Now when this became known unto the blessed man THEOPHILUS, the Archbishop of Alexandria, he sent a message that [the monks] should bring the old man to him, and when he saw him, he perceived that he was a seer of visions, and that everything which he asked God for He gave him, and that he spake these words in his simplicity. And the Archbishop dealt with him wisely in the following manner, saying, "Father, entreat thou God [for me], because "my thoughts tell me that MELCHISEDEK was the son "of God." And he said to him likewise, "It cannot "be thus, for the high priest of God was a man. And "now, because I had doubts in my mind concerning "this, I sent for thee that thou mightest make suppli- "cation unto God that He may reveal to thee the "matter." Then, because the old man had confidence in his labours, he spake unto him boldly, saying, "Wait three days, and I will enquire of God, and then "I shall be able to inform thee who MELCHISEDEK was." So the old man departed, and came [again] after three days, and said unto the blessed Archbishop THEOPHILUS, "MELCHISEDEK was a man;" and the Archbishop said unto him, "How knowest thou, father?" And the old man said, "God showed me all the Patriarchs, one by "one, and they passed before me one after the other, "from ADAM to MELCHISEDEK, and an angel said to me, "'This is MELCHISEDEK;' know then that of a truth the "matter is as it hath appeared unto me." And the old man departed, and he himself proclaimed that

Melchisedek was a man, and the blessed Theophilus rejoiced greatly.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF ABBÂ MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, THE DISCIPLE OF
MÂR ANTHONY.

ABBÂ MACARIUS used to dwell by himself in the desert, and there was below him another desert wherein many brethren dwelt; and the old man was himself watching the road one day, and saw Satan travelling on it in the form of a man, and he came along with the intention of passing him; and he was arrayed in a garment, which was full of holes, and various fruits were hanging about him. And the old man MACARIUS said unto him, "Whither goest thou?" And he said, "I am going to visit the brethren, and to make them mindful [of their work]." And the old man said to him, "For what purpose are the various fruits which are on thee required?" and Satan answered and said, "I am carrying them to the brethren for food." And the old man said, "All these?" and Satan said, "Yea. For if one pleaseth not a brother I hand him over another; and if that pleaseth him not, I give him another, and one or other of these must certainly please him." And having said these things Satan went on his way.

Then the old man continued to watch the road until Satan came along to return, and when he saw him, he said unto him, "Hast thou been successful?" And Satan said, "Whence am I to obtain help?" And the old man said, "For what purpose?" Then Satan said, "They have all forsaken me, and have rebelled against me, and not one of them will allow himself to be overpersuaded by me." And the old man said, "Hast thou not then one friend left there?" and Satan

said to him, "Yea, I have one brother, but one only "who will be persuaded by me, although whensoever "he seeth me he turneth away his face as from that "of an adversary." The old man saith to him, "What "is the name of this brother?" and Satan saith, *THÊÔMPIȚÔS* [*THEOPEMPTUS*];" and having said these things he departed and went on his way.

Then *ABBÂ MACARIUS* rose up and went down to the lower desert, and the brethren heard [of his coming], and they brought palm leaves, and went out to meet him, and every monk prepared and made ready his abode, thinking that he would come and dwell there; but the old man [only] asked for the brother whose name was *THÊÔMPIȚÔS* [*THEOPEMPTUS*], and he received him joyfully. Now when the brethren began to speak among themselves, the old man said unto him, "What hast thou to say, O my brother, and how "are thine own affairs?" And *THÊÔMPIȚÔS* said to him, "At the present moment matters are well with me," for he was ashamed to speak. The old man said unto him, "Behold, I have now lived a life of stern asceticism for many years, and I am held in honour by "every man, nevertheless, even though I am an old "man, the spirit of fornication disturbeth me." And *THÊÔMPIȚÔS* answered and said, "Believe me, father, "[it disturbeth] me also;" and the old man, like one who was vexed by many thoughts, made a reason for talking, and at length he led the brother to confess the matter. And afterwards he said unto him, "How long dost "thou fast?" And the brother said unto *MACARIUS*, "Until the ninth hour." And the old man saith, "Fast "until the evening, and continue to do so, and thou "shalt repeat passages from the Book of the Gospels, "and from the other Scriptures. If a thought riseth in "thy mind let not thy mind look downwards, but always "upwards, and the Lord shall help thee." Thus having made the brother reveal his thoughts, and having given him encouragement, he departed to go to his own

desert, and he travelled along the road and watched according to his custom.

And he saw the devil again, and said unto him, "Whither goest thou?" And he answered and said unto him, "I go to remind the brethren [of their work]." And having departed and come back again, the holy man said unto him, "How are the brethren?" and the devil said, "They are in evil case." And the old man said, "Why?" and the devil said, "Because 'they are all [like] savage animals, and they are rebellious. But the worst thing of all is that even the one 'brother who used to be obedient to me hath turned, 'through what cause I know not, and he will not be 'in any way persuaded by me, and he is the most 'savage of them all against me; I have on this account taken an oath that I will never again go to 'that place, at least, only after a very long time."

Now this ABBÂ MACARIUS was marvellous in his life and deeds. Once as he was travelling along in the inner desert, he looked and, behold, there was an old man coming towards him, and he was arrayed in apparel which was very old, and over his whole body there were hung very many things which were like unto pots, each one being provided with rings, and he was covering them over as it were with a covering. And he drove his staff into the ground, and though he was as timid and as terrified as a fugitive slave, he pretended to be bold, and stood up like a brave man, and spake to the blessed MACARIUS, face to face, saying, "What dost thou in this wilderness, 'and why art thou wandering hither and thither herein?" And the blessed MACARIUS answered and said unto him, "I wish to find God, for I am fleeing from error. But 'who art thou, O old man? Tell me, for I observe 'that thy raiment is very different from that of the 'children of men. Tell me, now, what are these things 'which thou hast upon thee?" Then the old man, though unwilling, confessed and said, "I am he whom

"thou callest by the name of 'Calumniator,' and these things which thou seest upon me are those wherewith I draw towards myself the children of men, and with each one of these, according as it befitteth and is suitable for a man, I take care to fulfil the work of error; and by means of their lusts, as with wings, I make to turn backwards those who are obedient unto me, and I have great happiness in those who, through my crafts and wiles, stumble and fall."

And when the blessed MACARIUS had heard these things, he plucked up courage, and said unto Satan, "By Christ, Who caused thee to make a mockery of the holy angels, explain to me, one by one, each and all of the things which thou carriest, for by this thou shalt be revealed, so that a man may see the insidiousness of thy arts and wiles, and may learn thy hidden snares, and may recognize the multitude of the burning arrows of thine error, and may flee from the performance of thy will." Then the Calumniator answered and said, "I must reveal unto thee my craftiness, even though I be unwilling so to do, for it is impossible for me to hide from thee any of the things which thou seest; learn thou the use (*or*, reason) of each pot. If I find a man who meditateth continually on the Law of God, I pour out upon him from the pot which is on my head dizziness and headache, and I restrain him [from this work] thereby. On the man who hath chosen to watch by means of [the recital of] prayers and psalms I pour out from the pot which is on my eyelids a disposition to sleep, and I lead and drive him along by main force into slumber. These which thou seest that I have on my ears are prepared for disobedience and the transgression of the Commandments, and by their means I trap those who wish to lead a good life to disobey the word of truth. From those which hang from my nose I sprinkle on the young the sweet smell of happiness, and I lead them into fornication. From those which

"are on my mouth I throw out flowers(?), and I incite
"the ascetic by means of blandishments, and I make
"to sin those who live a life of abstinence and self-
"denial by means of such dainty meats and foods
"according to my desire; and by means of those which
"are on my mouth I also draw many into the utterance
"of calumnies, and into filthy talk, and to speak briefly,
"in each one of these pots is the seed which is most
"useful for increasing the fruits which are worthy of
"me, and which may be gathered from the labours of
"the husbandmen who labour in my vineyard. And
"from the pots which are hung about my neck I pour
"out pride, and I enclose with my nets those who are
"haughty in their minds, and so by means of all these
"I possess in the world multitudes of subjects who love
"the things which are mine, that is to say, worldly
"praise, and wealth, which are the things that, by
"those who are remote from God, are believed to be
"good things in the world.

"And the pots which thou seest hanging from my
"breasts are full of my imaginings, and with some of
"these I water the hearts of the children of men, and
"by means of the drunkenness of the passions I dissipa-
"te and destroy the mind which feareth God; and
"through my error I confound the memory of those
"men who wish to meditate upon and to think about
"the things which concern the world to come. And
"those which hang upon my body are full of want of
"feeling and perception, and by their means I prepare
"those who are without understanding to live in a
"savage and animal manner a life which is characterized
"by various kinds of brutish habits. And in the pots
"which I carry below my body will be found all things
"which are useful and suitable for union with women
"in fornication, and for filthy wantonness. Those which
"are on my hands are useful in the committal of
"murders, and by their means, as by hands, is carried
"out and performed the work of those who are subject

“unto me voluntarily. And the pots which thou seest
“hanging from my neck and back have in them the
“thick darkness of my temptations, wherewith I am
“able to vanquish those who are so bold as to contend
“against me; and I lay ambushes behind me, and I
“rush out to overthrow those who depend upon and
“who boast in their own strength. And the pots which
“thou seest hanging on my loins and thighs, and which
“are arranged downwards to my feet, are full of the
“snares and nets which I pour out, and with which I make
“crooked and confound the ways of those who wish
“to journey in the narrow path of the fear of God;
“and I impede thereby the goings of those who culti-
“vate ascetic excellence, and I make them to journey
“on my way which is easy to travel. For I take my
“seat between the two ways of life and death, and
“whilst I confound and lead astray those who wish to
“journey in the way of life, I lead and help on their
“way those who are travelling on the road of death,
“and I strengthen them also, and I make them valiant
“so that they may go forward easily in my paths.
“And when they are bowed down and labour under
“my yoke I sow evil and abominable vices among
“them like thorns and brambles, and having gathered
“in from seed of this kind the fruit of such crops
“which they believe to be pleasant, they deny the
“way of truth, because evil men are taken in the
“snares of the filthiness of abominable things. But
“thou, O MACARIUS, hast never once inclined thyself
“to obey me, so that by thine obedience I might
“be able to find even a little consolation; but thou
“burnest me up wholly by means of the mighty armour
“of the humility which thou bearest, and for this reason
“I haste to depart to mine own subjects. For thou
“possessest a good Lord, and thou hast mighty com-
“panions, who tranquilly and happily serve God, and
“who protect thee as a beloved son.”

And when the chosen athlete had heard these

things, he made the sign of the Cross over himself, and said, "Blessed be God, Who hath made those who "have put their hopes in Him to make thee a mockery "and a laughingstock, and Who hath preserved me "wholly and completely from thy error, so that whilst "turning aside from the same I was able to advance in "the good fight; and having fought and conquered I "shall receive a crown from the good Lord Whom I "possess. Flee then, and get thee afar off, O thou "who art envious of the things which are good, for "Christ will make an end of thee, so that thou mayest "not dare to attack any of those who worship Him. "For sufficient for thee are those whom thou hast "drawn unto thyself by flattery, through thy evil wiles "and their own sluggish will, and made to travel on "the flat, wide road of destruction. Thou shalt not "then dare to draw nigh unto those who of their own "will have elected to travel in the narrow, and strait, "and troubled, and vexatious way of life, but have "fear, and depart from those who dwell in waste places "and in deserts." Now when the blessed man had said these things, straightway the Calumniator disappeared, and the holy man MACARIUS bowed the knee, and prayed, saying, "Glory be unto Thee, O Christ, "Thou Who art the Refuge of those who are overtaken by storms, Thou Who art the straight way of "those who err, Thou Who art the Redeemer of those "who flee unto Thee for refuge, now, always, and for "ever and ever! Amen."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF ABBÂ MARK THE LESS, THE DISCIPLE OF ABBÂ SYLVANUS.

[Page 298]. They used to say concerning ABBÂ SYLVANUS that he wished to depart to Syria, and his

disciple MARK said unto him, "Not only do I not wish thee to depart from this place, O father, but I will not permit thee to go [now]; wait then here for three days more;" and on the third day MARK died in peace.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF ABBÂ PAULE THE SIMPLE, THE DISCIPLE OF MÂR ANTHONY.

The blessed man, PAUL THE SIMPLE, the disciple of the holy man ANTHONY, used to relate to the fathers the following matter:—I once went to a certain monastery that I might visit the brethren for profit spiritually, and after some conversation on the matter, and the customary talk, they went into the holy church that they might form a congregation as usual, and perform the service of the Holy Mysteries. And the blessed PAULE looked at and scrutinized carefully each one of them, so that he might see in what frame of mind he was going in, for he had the gift, which had been given unto him by God, of looking into the soul of every man, and of knowing what his soul was like, even as we have the power of looking upon the faces of each other. And he saw that every man was going in with a glorious aspect of soul, and with faces full of light, and that the angel of each man was rejoicing in him, with the exception of one whose face was sick and afflicted, and whose whole body was in darkness, and devils had hold upon each of his hands, and they were lifting him up and dragging him towards them, and they had put a ring in his nose; and he saw also that the holy angel of this man was a long way from him, and that he followed after him sadly and sorrowfully [Page 299].

And when the blessed PAULE saw these things he

wept, and smote himself upon the breast many times, and he sat down before the church, and he cried unceasingly for the man who had appeared unto him in this state. Now those who saw the old man became greatly astonished suddenly, and especially at his swift change [from happiness] to weeping and tears, and they asked him and entreated him, and begged him to tell them what he had seen, for they thought that, though blaming them, he would do so, and they besought him also, with one voice, to go into the congregation with them. But PAULE drove them away from him, and he would not let himself be persuaded to do this, so he sat down outside the church and held his peace, and he cried aloud and groaned loudly concerning that which had appeared to him.

And after a short time, when the service was ended, and all the fathers were coming out, PAULE scrutinized carefully each one of them, so that he might see in what manner would come out those whom he had seen go in, and whether it would be with the same countenance as that wherewith they had gone in, or otherwise. And he saw again that man whom he had seen go in, and whose body before he had entered into the church was in darkness, and behold, he came forth from the church with his face full of light, and his body was white, and the devils followed after him at a great distance, and his guardian angel was quite close to him, and walked with him; and he was glad and rejoiced greatly over that man. Then the holy man PAULE leaped up, and stood there glad and rejoicing, and he cried out and blessed God, saying, "Hail to the overflowing mercy of God! Hail to the immeasurable goodness! Hail to His rich treasures! Hail to His pleasure, which is beyond measure." And he ran and went up and stood upon a lofty platform, and cried out with a loud voice, saying, "Come ye, "[Page 300] and see how awful are the works of God, "and how greatly they are worthy of admiration! Come

“ye, and see Him Who wisheth that all the children
“of men should live, and should turn to the knowledge
“of the truth! Come, let us kneel and worship Him,
“and say, ‘Thou art He Who alone is able to forgive
“‘sins.’” Therefore all the fathers ran diligently so that
they might hear what he was saying. And when they
had all gathered together, the holy man Paul related
unto them the things which he had seen both when
they went into the church, and when each one of them
came out; and they entreated that brother [to tell them]
what was the reason of that complete change, and of
the gladness which God bestowed upon him [so] quickly.

And the man, being afraid lest he might be rebuked
by the blessed PAULE, related the following things con-
cerning himself before them all, without any conceal-
ment whatsoever, and said, “I am a sinful man, and
“for a long time past, even unto the present day, I
“lived in fornication. When I went into the church,
“I heard the [Book of] the Prophet Isaiah read, that
“is to say, I heard God speaking through him, and
“saying, Wash, and be clean, and remove your evil
“deeds from before mine eyes. Hate the things which
“are evil, and learn to do good, seek out judgment,
“and pass [righteous] sentences upon those who are
“afflicted. And if your sins be red like crimson they
“shall become white as snow. And if ye are willing
“to hearken unto me, ye shall eat of the good things
“of the earth.”

“Now when I had heard read [these] words from
“the Prophet, that is to say, had heard God Who was
“speaking by him, I forthwith repented in my soul
“sincerely, and sighing in my heart I said unto God,
“Thou art the God Who didst come into the world
“to make sinners to live, do Thou then make manifest
“in me the things which Thou hast promised in Thy
“Prophet, and fulfil them in me, even though I be un-
“worthy of the same, for I am a sinner. For, behold,
“I promise, and I enter into a covenant with Thee,

“and I will thrust this promise down into my soul,
“and will acknowledge [it], that from now and hence-
“forth I will never again commit such wickedness as
“this, [Page 301] but I will keep myself remote from
“all iniquity, and I will serve thee from this day on-
“wards with a clean conscience. Therefore, O Master,
“from this day, and from this hour, accept me, for I
“am penitent; and I will make supplication unto Thee,
“and will remove myself forthwith from all sin. There-
“fore with such promises and covenants as these I came
“forth from the church, and I determined in my soul
“that I would never again do anything which would
“injure [my] fear of Him;” and when all the fathers
heard [this], they all cried out with a loud voice, and
said unto God, “O Lord, how great are thy works!
“Thou hast created all of them in wisdom.”

Now therefore, O Christians, since we know from
the Holy Scriptures and from divine revelations how
great is the grace which God dispenseth to those who
truly run to Him for refuge, and who blot out their
former sins by means of repentance, and also how,
according to His promise, He rewardeth with good
things, and doth neither take vengeance according to
what is just, nor bring upon men a punishment for
their former sins, let us not be in despair of our lives.
For, even as He promised by the hand of Isaiah the
Prophet, He will make clean those who have toiled
in sin, and will make them bright and white like clean
wool and snow, and will make them to be happy with
the blessings of heaven. And moreover, God asserteth
with oaths, by the hand of the Prophet Ezekiel that
He doth not desire their destruction, for He saith, “As
“I live, saith the Lord, I do not desire the death of a
“sinner, but that he should turn from his evil way,
“and live.”¹

¹ Ezekiel XXXIII. 11.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER I.

BY THE MIGHT OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST WE BEGIN TO WRITE THE "ESKİTİKÎN",¹ THAT IS TO SAY, THE HISTORY OF THE MONKS OF TABENNA, WHO WERE FOLLOWERS OF ABBÂ PACHOMIUS.

In my opinion, the things which I am now about to write are able to assist [us] greatly [Page 302] if we indeed follow after them, and they will, moreover, make the hearer more vigilant in respect of the contemplation of the things which have been said. And if we were to excuse ourselves through negligence from writing them down, this act would bring danger upon him that made such an excuse, and therefore, although we can only advance from the beginning but a very little way with the living word, we will declare a few of the earlier things.

It was a custom with the God-loving brother, the holy man ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, to gather together the brethren every evening in a duly appointed place in the monastery that they might hear his doctrine, and once, when they were all assembled, according to their wont, in order to hear RABBÂ, he commanded THEODORE, a man who had lived in the monastery for twenty years, to speak to the brethren, and straightway he spake unto them concerning the things which were to be employed as helpers, but made no mention of not stumbling. And some of the aged sages who saw

¹ *I. e.*, ἀσκητικόν.

what had taken place did not wish to listen to him, and they said within themselves, "What he is teaching us is for novices, and we [need not] listen unto him," and they left the congregation of the brethren, and departing from that place went to their cells.

And when the brethren had been dismissed from the hearing [of the sermon] RABBÂ sent and called those who had departed, and who did not wish to hear THEODORE, and when they had come into the presence of the holy man he asked them, "Why did ye leave us and depart to your cells?" And they said, "Because thou hast made a young man our teacher, and although all the old men were standing [there], and other brethren who were much older [than he], thou didst command a young man to speak unto us." Now when RABBÂ had heard these things, he groaned, and said, "Do ye know by what means wickedness first began to take hold in the world?" And they said unto him, "What were they?" And he answered and said unto them, "By pride, and it began when that bright star which used to shine (*or*, rise) in the morning fell [from heaven], and was dashed in pieces on the earth. Or, have ye never heard that which is written, 'The man who is haughty in heart is an abominable thing before the Lord?' [Page 303] For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, but he that abaseth himself shall be exalted. Therefore deliver ye yourselves from your false superiority, for do ye not know that the mother of the beginning of wickednesses is pride? Ye did not only leave THEODORE and depart from him, but ye fled and departed from the Word of God, [and] ye fell away from the Holy Spirit. O ye truly wretched men, who deserve sorrow of every kind, how is it that ye cannot understand that it was Satan who was working in you, and that, because of this, ye made yourselves to be remote from God? O what a great and wonderful thing it is that God humbled Himself, and took upon

ee

"Himself the form of a servant, and put on his body, "and dwelt in him, and became obedient even unto "death for our sakes! And yet we who are by nature "low puff ourselves up with pride! He Who is high "above all things, and exceeding great, turned from "the ordinary course [of His greatness], and in humility "fashioned the world, although He was able to destroy "everything which existeth by a glance! And yet we "who are nothing make ourselves proud, being ignorant "that in thus doing we are sinking ourselves into the "depths of the earth! Do ye not observe that I stand "and incline my ear to the teaching [of Theodore]? "Verily I say unto you, that I have been greatly "helped by him. For I did not ask him to address "you because I thought lightly of him, but because I "expected to be helped myself by his words; how "very much more, then, is it right that ye should "hearken unto his words with a ready mind and ab- "solute humility? Verily I, who am your father in the "Lord, am as one who knoweth not his right hand "from his left, and therefore I listen unto him with "all my soul. Therefore before God I say unto you "that, if ye shew great repentance for this folly which "ye have committed, and if ye weep and mourn for "yourselves because thereof in such wise that ye be edi- "fied thereby, that which hath happened shall be for- "given you, and if not, then ye will go to perdition."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER II.

OF SYLVANUS.

[Page 304] Once there was a man among the brethren whose name was SYLVANUS, who for a period of twenty years had worn the garb of a monk; now he was originally an actor, and at the beginning

of his life as a monk he was exceedingly anxious about his soul, but after a short time had elapsed he began to be so negligent about his redemption, that he wanted to make merry and to enjoy himself, and besides this he used to sing fearlessly among the brethren snatches of the lude and ribald songs which he used to hear in the theatre.* Then ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, the holy man, called this brother before the brethren, and commanded him to strip off the garb of a monk, and, having received such apparel as was worn in the world, to go forth from among the brethren, and from the monastery. And that brother fell down at the feet of PACHOMIUS, and entreated him, saying, "O father, if thou wilt forgive me this once, and wilt not cast me forth, thou hast it from me that from this time forward I will repent of those things wherein I have hitherto shown negligence, in such a manner that thou shalt be able to see the change which hath taken place in my soul." And the holy man answered and said unto him, "Dost thou know how much I have borne from thee, and how many times I have admonished thee, and how many times I have beaten thee? I am a man who hath no wish to stretch out my hands in a matter of this kind, because when, of necessity, I was obliged to act thus in respect of thee, [my] soul suffered far more by the mention of association with passion than thou didst, although the stripes were laid upon thee. I beat thee for the sake of thy salvation in God, so that by that means I might be able to correct thee of thy folly; but since, even though I admonished thee, thou didst not change [thy course of life], and didst not follow after spiritual excellence, even though I entreated thee so to do, and since, even when beaten thou

* *ἄσκη* from the Greek *Θυμέλη*. Sylvanus was probably a member of the orchestra in the theatre.

"wast not afraid, how is it possible for me to forgive thee any more?"

But when SYLVANUS multiplied his entreaties, and begged for his forgiveness long and earnestly, and promised that he would amend his life henceforward, RABBÂ demanded a surety from him [Page 305] that after he was forgiven he would no more continue his evil behaviour; and when the venerable man PETRONIUS had made himself a surety for him concerning the things which SYLVANUS had promised the blessed man forgave him. Then SYLVANUS, having been held worthy of forgiveness, contended with all his soul, and to such good purpose, that he became the pattern of all excellence of the fear of God, both among all the younger and all the elder brethren. Now the virtue which surpassed all the other virtues which he possessed was that of absolute humility, and tears flowed from his eyes so unceasingly that even when he was eating with the brethren he was not able to restrain his weeping, and his tears were mingled with his food. And when the brethren told him that he should not behave thus before the face of strangers (*i. e.*, visitors), or before any people he took an oath, saying, "I have sought many times to restrain [my] tears for this reason, but I have never been able [to do so]." Then the brethren said, "Is it not possible for him that repenteth to seek to be alone? And would it not be better for him to act thus when he was praying with the brethren, than when he was eating at the table with them? And is it not possible for the soul to weep continually with tears other than those which are visible?" [Then, turning to him, they said,] "We wish to know what thou hast to say on the matter. For thou art so overwhelmed with [thy] tears that many of us who see thee in this state are ashamed to eat and take our fill."

Then SYLVANUS said unto those who had asked him [those questions], "Do ye not wish me to weep

“when I see holy men waiting upon me, men, the dust
 “of whose feet I am unworthy [to sweep away]? Is
 “it not proper that I should weep over myself? I weep
 “then, O my brethren, because a man from the theatre
 “is ministered unto by such holy men as these, and I
 “am afraid lest I be smitten even as were DATHAN
 “and ABIRAM. And I weep especially because, being
 “in ignorance, I cared so little at the beginning about
 “the redemption (*or*, salvation) of my soul, that I came
 [Page 306] into danger of being expelled by the
 “brethren from the monastery, and I was obliged to
 “give surety [for my better behaviour], and to take
 “awful oaths that I would never again treat my life
 “with contempt. For this reason I am not ashamed
 “[to weep], and I have turned away from such things;
 “for I know my sins and that if I was obliged to
 “deliver up my soul I should find no happiness [in
 heaven].”

And as this man strove nobly in this manner
 RABBÂ himself bore testimony before all the brethren,
 and spake thus: “Behold, I bear testimony before
 “God that, from the time when this monastery came
 “into existence, among all the brethren who have lived
 “with me therein, there hath been none who hath re-
 “sembled completely the example [which I have con-
 “ceived in my mind] with the exception of one.” Now
 when the brethren heard these things some of them
 thought that the one man of whom he spake was
 THEODORE, and others thought he was PETRONIUS, and
 others thought he was ARSENIUS, and at length THEO-
 DORE asked the holy man of which monk he had
 spoken when he said this thing; but RABBÂ did not
 wish to say. But because THEODORE and the other
 great fathers continued to entreat him [to tell them],
 for they wished to learn who he was, RABBÂ answered
 and said, “If I knew that vain glory would come to
 “him of whom I am about to speak, and that he would
 “be greatly praised, I would not shew [you] who he

"is; but, because I know that the more he is praised,
 "the more humble he will become, and the more he
 "will think scorn of himself, and because [I wish] you
 "to emulate his example, I will, before you all, fear-
 "lessly ascribe blessing to him. Thou, O THEODORE,
 "and all those, who like thee, strive in the fight, have
 "bound the Calumniator with fetters like a kid of the
 "goats, and have placed him under your feet, and
 "daily ye trample upon him as ye trample upon dust;
 "but if ye are the least unmindful of yourselves, the
 "Calumniator, who hath been cast under your feet, will
 "rise up again, and will set himself against you like
 "an armed man. But this young man SYLVANUS, who
 "but a short time since was about to be [Page 307]
 "expelled from the monastery, hath, by his strenuous-
 "ness,¹ so completely subjugated the Calumniator, and
 "slain him, that he will never again be able to approach
 "him, for he hath vanquished him utterly by his ex-
 "ceedingly great humility. Ye have humbled yourselves
 "as if ye possessed works of righteousness, and the
 "addition which ye would make to your spiritual ex-
 "cellence is reduced, for ye rely upon the things which
 "have already been performed by you; but this young
 "man, however much he striveth, never sheweth himself
 "to the gaze [of his fellows], and he thinketh with all
 "his mind and soul that he is a useless and contempt-
 "ible being. And tears are always nigh unto him
 "because he is always belittling himself, and because
 "he saith that he is unworthy of the things which are
 "visible. Ye, in your knowledge, and in your patient
 "endurance, and in your strivings against the Calumni-
 "ator, which cannot be measured, are better than he
 "is, but he hath surpassed you in humility, because he,
 "in this manner, cutteth off for the Calumniator nothing
 "but humility, and the power of action which ariseth
 "from the whole soul." Now therefore when SYLVANUS

¹ Read *מְהִימָה מְרִיבָה מְרִיבָה*.

had striven in this manner for eight years, he completed his fight, and laid down his life in such wise that his servant, a mighty man of God, testified concerning his departure, and said that an endless throng of holy angels, with great rejoicing and singing, received his soul as a choice sacrifice; and that they offered it up unto God like the marvellous incense which is found among the children of men.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER III.

OF A CERTAIN SINNER WHO DIED.

And it came to pass once that ABBÂ PACHOMIUS went to another monastery to visit the brethren who were there, and as he was on his journey he met the funeral of a certain brother of the monastery who was dead, and [the monks] were going to the funeral and were singing as they went; [Page 308] and there were also among them the parents of the man who had died. Now the brethren saw from a distance the holy man coming along towards them, and they set down the bier upon the ground so that he might come and pray over him. And when the blessed man had come, and had said a prayer, he commanded the brethren not to sing any more psalms and hymns over him; and he also commanded them to bring the garments of him that had died, and they brought them, and in the presence of them all he ordered the men to burn them; then, when they had been burned he commanded that the dead body should be taken and buried without any further singing. Then the brethren, and the parents, and kinsfolk of him that was dead threw themselves down at his feet and entreated him to permit them to sing over him, but he remained unmoved; and the parents of the dead man

said unto ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, "What hast thou done, O
"father? This is a new thing, and thou art sending
"away our son in an unlawful fashion. It befitteth not
"thy holiness to display such a want of compassion
"unto this dead man, and moreover, this savage cruelty
"is like to bring about sorrow. Even an enemy who
"seeth the dead body of his adversary knoweth how
"to shew pity many times over, although his dis-
"position be unutterable and immovable. We have
"seen a new sight with you, O Christians, the like
"of which had never been seen, even among the bar-
"barians. Through this want of compassion [on thy
"part] thou hast made to cling to the family [of the
"dead man] a disgrace which shall never be blotted
"out. Would that we had never seen thee this day!
"For then our house, which hath ever possessed an
"untarnished name, would not have inherited disgrace.
"Would that our poor son had never come into thy
"savage hands! For then he would not have bequeathed
"unto us this everlasting sorrow. We beseech thee
"now, since thou hast caused even his clothes to be
"burned, to allow a Psalm to be said over him."

Then ABBÂ PACHOMIUS answered and said unto them,
"O my brethren, in very truth I have more compassion
"upon him that lieth here than ye have, and because,
"like a father, I am shewing exceedingly great care
"on his behalf, I have commanded [Page 309] these
"things to be done. Ye would take care of the body
"which is visible, but I strive for his soul [which is
"invisible]; for if ye sing Psalms over him he will
"receive the greater torments, and a reckoning will
"be demanded from him because of the Psalms which
"have been sung, for he departeth not with the power
"of the Psalms upon him. If then ye wish to make
"an addition to his everlasting sufferings, sing Psalms;
"but I tell you, of a truth, that if ye do indeed sing
"Psalms over him, he will certainly suffer more pain
"because of them, and he will curse you. And because

"I know what will benefit his soul I take no care for
"his dead body whatsoever; for if I permit ye to sing
"Psalms, I shall be found to be in the sight of God
"as one who [striveth to] please the children of men,
"because for the sake of gratifying men I have treated
"with contempt that which will benefit the soul which
"is about to be punished in judgment. For because
"God is a fountain of grace He seeketh excuses upon
"which He can lay hold in order to pour out upon us
"the abundant streams of His grace; if then, we, who
"have been held to be worthy by God to become
"acquainted with the art of divine healing, do not
"apply the binding up which is suitable to the wound,
"we shall, like those who despise [God], hear that
"which is written, 'Those who despised [God] saw,
"and marvelled at the wonderful thing, and were
"destroyed.' For this reason then, that is to say,
"that we may lighten his punishment, I entreat you to
"bury the dead man without any singing of Psalms;
"for the Good God knoweth that in return for this
"slight which hath come upon him, we are giving him
"rest and are calling him to life. Had he listened
"unto me on the several occasions on which I admonished
"him, he would never have come to this pass."

And when the blessed man had said these things
they carried him to the mountain without the singing
of Psalms, and he was buried. And the holy man
passed several days in that monastery in admonishing
and teaching each one of the brethren the fear [Page
310] of God, and the way to strive rightly against
the Calumniator, and against his arts, and wiles, and
guile, and how in a short time, by the might of the
Lord, we shall be able to bring to nought beforehand
the things which are cared for by him.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER IV.

OF THE FUNERAL OF A CERTAIN HOLY MAN WHO DIED.

Now whilst ABBÂ PACHOMIUS was still there he heard that a certain brother from the monastery of Bêth Râ'yâ, which is called in Greek¹ was sick, [and it was said to him], "He wisheth to see thee and to "be blessed by thee before he dieth." And when the man of God heard these things he rose up, and departed on the journey, but when he was about two miles from the monastery, the holy man heard a holy voice in the air, and he lifted up his eyes and saw the soul of the sick brother with the holy angels, singing hymns, and being borne aloft to a blessed and divine life; now the brethren who were accompanying him neither heard nor saw anything. And when the holy man had stood there and gazed for a long time towards the East, they said unto him, "Why standest "thou [here], O father? Let us hurry on so that we "may reach him whilst he is still alive." And he said unto them, "We shall not reach him there, for I have "just seen him ascending to everlasting life; depart ye "then, O my children, to your monastery." And when those brethren entreated him [to tell them] in what [form] he had seen the soul of the brother who had died, he said unto them, "In a certain form;" and when they had heard this they departed to their monastery. And they [enquired], and ascertained exactly from the brethren who were in the monastery, concerning the hour whereof RABBÂ had spoken to them, and then they recognized that the things which had been said unto them about the brother who had died were true [Page 311].

¹ The text is corrupt here.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER V.

OF THE THINGS WHICH ABBÂ PACHOMIUS HEARD SAID
IN THE AIR BY THE DEVILS AS HE WAS JOURNEYING IN THE
DESERT TO HIS MONASTERY.

Now when the holy old man was journeying to his monastery, and was by the side of the desert which is called "AMMON," certain legions of devils rose up against him, and thronged him, both on his right hand and on his left, and others ran in front of him, saying, "Behold the blessed man of God;" and they acted in this wise because they were plotting to sow the seeds of vain glory in him. Now he knew the evil character of their cunning, and as they cried out these things he cried out to God, and made confession of his sins; then, having brought to nought the evil cunning of these wicked devils, he answered and said unto them, "Ye are not able to persuade me to [indulge in] vain glory. O ye wicked ones, well do I know mine iniquities, and well do I know that it is right for me to weep concerning them continually, and concerning the punishment which is for ever. I have no need of fluent words and cunning error from you, for your work is the destruction of souls. I am not to be carried away therefore by your praisings, for I know well your cunning minds, O evil ones." And though the holy man PACHOMIUS spake these words unto them their audacious acts did not cease, for they clung round and about the blessed man until he drew nigh unto his monastery.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER VI.

OF THE THINGS WHICH ABBÂ PACHOMIUS DID WHEN HE
ARRIVED AT HIS MONASTERY.

And when the brethren went forth to meet the holy man and to salute him, a certain young man also went out with them to salute ABBÂ PACHOMIUS, and he began to make a complaint to him, saying, "Verily, "O father, from the time when thou didst depart to "visit the brethren until this present [Page 312] they "have not cooked either vegetables or crushed peas;" and the old man answered and said unto him readily and pleasantly, "My son, grieve not, for from this time "forward I will make them to cook these things for "thee." And having gone round about through the monastery ABBÂ PACHOMIUS went to the place where the food was [kept], and he found him that did the cooking plaiting a mat of palm leaves, and he said unto him, "How long is it since thou hast cooked "vegetables for the brethren?" And he answered, "Two months." And RABBÂ said unto him, "Hast thou "acted thus in spite of the command and ordinances "of the holy fathers which enjoin that vegetables shall "be cooked for the brethren every Saturday and every "Sunday?" And the cook answered and said unto him, "Truly, O father, I wanted to cook some vege- "tables on each of these days, but because I saw that "when they were cooked they were not eaten (for all "the brethren, so to speak, were restraining them- "selves, and were not eating cooked food), except by "the young men who usually ate them, and when I "saw that when they were not eaten they were thrown "away, [I cooked] no more so that all the expense "and all the trouble might be avoided. Now we pour "into the cooked food of the brethren forty boxes of "oil daily. And when I saw that the food was not

"eaten I did not cook it, for I did not consider it to be right that we should throw away and waste such costly things. And moreover, because I could not sit idle I began to plait a mat, with the brethren, for I thought that one man would be sufficient in the kitchen to prepare the less important meals for the brethren, that is to say, chopped garlic, and mountain herbs [mixed with] vinegar and olive oil, and herbs from the garden."

And when the holy man had heard these things he said unto the cook, "How many mats have ye made? Ye who belong to the kitchen must have been continually at this work;" and the cook said, "Five hundred." And ABBÂ PACHOMIUS said unto him, "Bring them here, for I wish to count them;" and having brought the mats he ordered them [Page 313] to be thrown into the fire. Then, when they had all been consumed, ABBÂ PACHOMIUS said unto them, "Why have ye forsaken the ordinance which hath been given unto you for the government of the brethren through [your] Satanic minds? I have destroyed pitilessly the labour of your hands, and have burned it in the fire, so that ye may learn what it is for a man to treat lightly the laws of the Fathers, which have been given for the benefit of souls. How great is the help which ye have removed from the brethren through your not having cooked food for them! Have ye forgotten that a man hath power over desire for food, and that he who restraineth himself from such and such a food, for God's sake, shall obtain from God wages which are not small? while he who hath not received authority, and who denieth himself by force or necessity will seek for wages in return for this in vain? And do ye not know that, if cooked meat be placed upon the table, and the brethren eat it not because they restrain themselves therefrom for God's sake, they shall receive abundant wages? But if cooked meats be not given unto them, because they have

"not seen them abstinence and self-denial can never
"be reckoned unto them. For the sake of eighty boxes
"of oil, for such is the excuse [which ye have made],
"ye have cut off all the preparation of all the brethren;
"I would rather that all the world should be wasted
"than that one small spiritual virtue should be cut off
"from [their] soul[s]. I therefore truly wish to have
"food in abundance cooked daily and set before the
"brethren, so that in practising abstinence every day,
"and in restraining themselves from partaking of what
"hath been given to them, they may make an addition
"daily to their spiritual excellence. For if a man should
"happen to fall sick, and did not desire to go to the
"hospital, if he should come to the common table in
"order to partake of the vegetables which are usually
"given to the brethren, and should not find any there,
"what would happen to me? Would not a brother be
"offended in not finding at the common table that of
"which he was in need? And do ye not know that
"[Page 314] young men especially [cannot] continue
"in spiritual excellence unless they enjoy some small
"gratification or a little consolation from their food?"

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REVELATION WHICH ABBÂ PACHOMIUS RECEIVED
FROM GOD CONCERNING CERTAIN HERETICS WHO HAPPENED
TO VISIT HIM.

And it came to pass that when the old man had
said these things to the brethren, the doorkeeper came
to him, and said, "Certain travellers, who are men of
"importance, have come hither, and they wish to meet
"thee;" and he said, "Call them hither," and when they
had entered into the monastery he saluted them with
the brethren. And after they had seen all the brother-

hood, and had gone round about among all the cells of the brethren, they wanted to hold converse with him by themselves. Now when they had taken their seats in a secluded chamber, there came unto the old man a strong smell of uncleanness, but he knew not whence came such uncleanness, though he thought that it must arise from them because he was speaking with them face to face; and he was not able to learn the cause of the same by the supplication which [he made] to God, for he perceived that their speech was fruitful [of thought], and that their minds were familiar with the Scriptures, but he was not acquainted with their intellectual uncleanness. Then, after he had spoken unto them many things out of the Divine Books, and the season of the ninth hour had drawn nigh meanwhile, they rose up that they might come to their own place, and RABBÂ entreated them to partake of some food there, but they did not accept [his petitions, saying,] that they were in duty bound to arrive home before sunset; so they prayed, and they saluted us, and then they departed.

And RABBÂ, in order to learn the cause of the uncleanness of those men, went into his cell, and prayed to God, and he knew straightway that [Page 315] it was the doctrine of wickedness which arose from their souls that sent forth such an unclean smell. Thereupon he went forth from his cell immediately and pursued those men, and having overtaken them, he said unto them, "I beg of you to allow me to ask you one "question;" and they said unto him, "Speak." And he said unto them, "Do ye call that which is written in "the works of ORIGEN heresy?" And when they had heard this question they denied and said that they did not. Then the holy man said unto them, "Behold, I "take you to witness before God, that every man who "readeth and accepteth the work of ORIGEN, shall "certainly arrive in the fire of Sheol, and his inheritance "shall be everlasting darkness. That which I know

“from God I have made you to be witnesses of, and
“I am therefore not to be condemned by God on this
“account, and ye yourselves know about it. Behold, I
“have made you to hear the truth. And if ye believe
“me, and if ye wish truly to gratify God, take all the
“writings of Origen and cast them into the fire; and
“never seek to read them again.” And when Abbâ
PACHOMIUS had said these things he left them.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE REVELATION WHICH HE RECEIVED ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRETHREN.

And when ABBÂ PACHOMIUS had gone into the monastery, he found the brethren gathered together for prayer, and he drew nigh unto them, and said all the prayers; but when the brethren went forth to eat he remained in that chamber by himself, in order that he might recite to the end therein the prayers of the congregation according to custom. And he shut the door and prayed unto God that he might have information about the settlements which were to come subsequently to the brethren. Then having prolonged [his] prayer from the tenth hour until the time when the brethren beat [the boards to summon the brethren] to the service of the night, for he was praying until midnight [Page 316], there suddenly appeared unto him a vision which made known to him concerning the settlements of the brethren subsequently, and shewed him that they would live rightly in Christ, and the increase which was about to take place in the religious houses. And he saw a congregation of brethren which was endless, and the men were making their way along a deep and gloomy valley, and many of them came with the intention of going up out of that valley, but were

unable to do so, and many of them met each other face to face, but because of the great density of the darkness, they did not recognize each other; and many fell down through exhaustion, and others were crying out with the doleful voice of lamentation. Now a very few of them, with the greatest difficulty, and with much toil, were able to go up out of that valley, and immediately they had done so the light met them; and when they had come to the light, they gave thanks unto God mightily. Then did the blessed man know the things which were going to happen to the brethren in later times, and the absolute supineness which was to exist in those times, and the blindness of error, and the removal of the shepherds which was about to happen to them, and he knew that the wicked were to have dominion over the good, whom they were to vanquish through their great numbers, and that those who were to come afterwards would be mere imitations of monks. Now we set down in writing the memorial of these things lest the wicked shall be governors over the brethren, and those who are without knowledge shall have authority over the monasteries, and shall strive for the mastery, and the good shall be persecuted by the wicked, and they shall not have freedom of speech in the monasteries, and the divine things which have been said shall be turned to the things of men.

Now therefore, when the blessed man knew these things, he cried out to God with tears, and said, "O Lord God, Who dost maintain the universe, if it is indeed to be thus why didst Thou permit these monasteries to come into being? And if in those times those who are to be governors over the brethren be wicked men, what is to become of those who [Page 317] are to be governed by them? For when the blind leadeth the blind both fall into the ditch. I have toiled absolutely in vain! Remember, O Lord, my works, and those of these brethren, who submit to be governed with all their souls. Remember that Thou

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"didst promise me, saying, 'Until the end of the world
"I will allow this spiritual seed to exist.' Thou knowest,
"O my Lord, that from the time when I put on the
"garb of the monks, I have never satisfied myself with
"whatsoever groweth upon the earth, not even with
"water."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER IX.

ANOTHER REVELATION ON THIS MATTER WHICH [BROUGHT]
CONSOLATION.

And it came to pass that when he had said these things, ABBÂ PACHOMIUS heard a voice, saying, "Thou
"boastest thyself, O PACHOMIUS. Thou art a man. Ask
"mercy for thyself, because everything standeth by com-
"passion." Now when the blessed man heard these things,
he straightway threw himself on his face upon the
ground, and he asked God for mercy, saying, "O Lord,
"Who dost sustain the universe, send Thy mercies to
"me, and take Thou them never away from me, for I
"know that without Thy mercy nothing can possibly
"exist." And having said these words straightway
there stood by his side two angels of God, and there
was with them a Young Man, who had a face which
is unspeakable, and an appearance which cannot be
described, and on His head was a crown of thorns.
Then the angels made PACHOMIUS to stand up, and
they said unto him, "Because thou hast asked God to
"send thee His mercy, behold, this is His mercy, the
"Lord of glory, Jesus Christ, the Only One, His Son,
"Whom He sent into the world, and Whom ye cru-
"cified; and ye set a crown of thorns upon His head."
And PACHOMIUS said unto the Young Man, "I entreat
"Thee, O my Lord, and Thy holy Nature, [Page 318]
"[to remember] that I did not crucify Thee." Then
the Young Man relaxed his face a little in a smile,

and said unto him, "I know that thou didst not crucify Me, but thy fathers did; be of good courage, however, "for the root of thy seed shall never come to an end, "and thy seed shall be preserved upon the earth even "unto the end of the world. And the seeds which "shall burst into life in those times, through the abundance of darkness shall be found to be more excellent "than those of this present time, and they shall be "more completely subject to rule; for at this present, "because thou art unto them as a light which is before "the eyes, they lead lives of great excellence and "according to rule, and they lean upon thy light. But "those who shall come after them, and who shall live "in a region of darkness, if with a good intent and "from the mind voluntarily they run towards the truth, "even though no man directeth them, they shall from "out of the darkness draw nigh unto the truth, verily, "I say unto thee, that they shall be free and shall be "with those who now lead a blameless life of the "highest character, and they shall be held to be worthy "of forgiveness."

Then having said these things straightway the Young Man went [up into] the heavens, and the heavens were opened, and the air shone so brightly that it is impossible for us to describe with human words the splendour of that light. And when RABBÂ had marvelled at the things which he had heard, straightway they beat [the board to summon] the brethren to the service of the night.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER X.

OF THE WORDS OF DOCTRINE WHICH ABBÂ PACHOMIUS
SPAKE TO THE BRETHREN WHEN THEY WERE GATHERED
TOGETHER.

Now when the brethren had come to the congregation of the night, and the service for the night also was ended, they sat down to hearken unto his words; and he opened his mouth, and said unto them, "O my brethren, so long as ye have breath in your bodies strive for your redemption; and before there cometh the hour wherein we shall have to weep for our souls let us cultivate spiritual excellence with a ready mind. And I say unto you [Page 319] that, if ye knew what good things were in heaven, and the glory which is laid up for the saints, and how those who have fallen are punished by God, and the tortures which are laid up for those who have been neglectful, and especially for those who having known the truth have not, as was right, guided themselves thereby, instead of inheriting the blessedness which is reserved for the saints, [ye would do so]. Flee ye then from the punishments which are in [these] tortures! And consider the graves, and consider the resurrection of the children of men, who are nothing! Why then doth man, who is dust, vaunt himself with vain glory? When then doth he, who is altogether stinkiness, exalt himself? Let us weep for ourselves whilst we still have the time, so that when our departure cometh nigh we may not be found asking God for more time wherein to repent. A wretched thing is that soul, and greatly to be blamed, which hath left the world, but which had not dedicated itself to God, and which had not lived worthily of its promise. Let us not then, O my brethren, allow this world, which is a small and a contemptible thing, and which resembleth a fleeting shadow, to steal away from us blessed and immortal life.

"Verily I fear lest your fathers in the flesh, who lived
"in the world, and who were carried away by the
"anxious cares and afflictions of the world, and who
"imagined about you that ye were nigh unto the Lord,
"whereby ye received a pledge that ye would enter
"into a life of blessedness, will be more worthy than
"ye are of assistance in the world which is to come.
"And at that time they will be found loving you, and
"saying that which is written, 'How hath He disgraced
"you, and put you greatly to shame: the fire hath
"blazed out upon you, and your branches have been
"destroyed, and therefore have ye become a thing
"of spoil [*or*, prey], over which the lions roar and
"send out their voices.' Therefore, O my beloved,
"be ye like unto those who are good, and let the
"crown of your head be exalted. The cities which
"are towards [Page 320] the South, how are they to
"be taken? There is none who will open unto you.
"For the sinner shall be carried off because he seeth
"not the glory of the Lord. Behold, ye have heard.
"Therefore, O my brethren, let us strive with all our
"souls, and let us set death before our eyes, and fasten
"our gaze upon the terrible tortures [of Sheol], so
"that by means of them the mind may arrive at the
"understanding, which beareth away the soul from care;
"and when it weepeth [the mind] maketh it to be a
"spectator, and with earthly things it enricheth it with-
"out wandering to God. And not this only, for when
"it doeth these things in humility, it persuadeth it to
"action which is free from every kind of worldly mind,
"and to contempt instead of vain glory.

"Let the soul then, O my brethren, practise philo-
"sophy each day in respect of this solid body [of ours],
"and when we come to our beds in the evening let
"it say unto each one of the members of the body,
"O legs, how much power have ye to stand up, and
"to move yourselves before ye die and become
"things without motion? Will ye not stand up with

“good will for your Lord.’ And let it say unto the
“other members, ‘O hands, there cometh an hour when
“ye shall be dissolved and motionless, and when ye
“shall never be clasped in each other again, and
“when ye shall not have any movement whatsoever;
“why then before ye fall into that hour and are cut
“off do ye not stretch yourselves out to the Lord?’
“And unto the whole body shall the soul speak thus:—
“O body, before we are separated and are removed
“far away from each other, and before I descend into
“Sheol, and receive everlasting fetters under darkness,
“and before thou art changed into the primal matter
“of which thou art made, and art cast out upon the
“earth to become filthiness and corruption, and to
“decay, rise up boldly to worship the Lord without
“dislike, and take my intelligence, by means of tears, and
“make known to thy lordship thy free will servitude;
“and bear me on that, with a good will [Page 321] I
“may give thanks unto God before thou art crushed
“under the weight of other things, and dost seek to
“lie down, and to take thy rest, and dost condemn
“me to everlasting torment. For there are times
“when that heavy sleep is about to confuse thee. And
“if thou wilt hearken unto me, we shall enjoy happi-
“ness together in the inheritance of blessing, but if
“thou wilt not hearken unto me, then woe is me
“that I have ever been fettered by thee, for on thy
“account I, the wretched thing, shall be condemned.’

“Now, if ye act thus daily, and if ye consecrate
“yourselves, verily ye shall become real temples of
“God, and since God dwelleth in you the cunning and
“wiles of Satan shall not be able to do you injury;
“for instead of having a myriad of teachers, the word
“of God shall dwell in you, and it shall teach you
“more [than they], and it shall make you exceedingly
“wise by its own knowledge; and it is unable to speak
“all the things which belong to human speech, but
“these the Spirit, holy, and divine, and pure, and

“spotless shall teach you, even as the Apostle¹ saith,
“‘For we know not what we should pray for as we
“‘ought, but the Spirit itself prayeth for us with
“‘groanings which cannot be uttered,’ etc. And there
“are many other helpful things which it would be
“possible for us to say unto you by God’s grace, yet
“because our mind doth not urge us to these same
“things we must direct our discourse to other matters.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XI.

OF HOW, NOT EVEN IN THE TIME OF FAMINE, WAS ABBÂ
PACHOMIUS INDUCED TO TAKE WHEAT FOR NOTHING FOR
THE USE OF HIS MONASTERY.

When a famine took place in the days of PACHOMIUS, and the brethren had no wheat, that is to say, when, so to speak, no wheat could be found in all Egypt, the holy old man sent to call one of the brethren that he might go round about in the cities and villages and seek for wheat to buy; and he gave him a sum of money [Page 322] for the purchase of the wheat, that is to say, one hundred *dinârs*. And having gone round about in very many places, the man who had been entrusted with this work came to a city which is called ARMÛTÎN, and by the Providence of God he found there a certain governor of the state, who was an exceedingly reverent man and a fearer of God, and who had heard of the rule of the holy man PACHOMIUS and of the brethren; now this governor was in charge of the wheat which belonged to the community, and the brother approached him, and entreated him to sell him wheat to the value of one hundred *dinârs*. Then the governor said unto him,

¹ Romans VIII. 26.

"Of a truth, O my brother, if I had wheat of my own, "or even some [belonging to] my own children, I would "take it and give it to you, for I have heard con- "cerning your godly and spiritual rule of life; but "hearken unto what I am going to say unto thee. "The wheat which hath been placed under my charge "belongeth to the community, and as it will not be "required this year by the prefect, if thou wishest to "take it I have the power over the wheat of the "community, and I will keep it back until the time "cometh for it to be laid up in the granary; and if thou "knowest that thou art able to return it by that time, "take as much of it as thou wishest."

Then the brother said unto him, "I do not wish "thee to act thus for me, for I am unable to return "so large a quantity as that which I wish to take; "but if thou wilt sell me wheat to the value of one "hundred *dinârs*, at the price which thou wishest, [good "and well], and if thou art not in any way able to "keep back the wheat which belongeth to the com- "munity until the time [for storing it] in the granary, "thou actest rightly [in refusing me]." And the governor said unto him, "Yea, I have power to keep "back the wheat, and not only wheat to the value of "one hundred *dinârs*, but, if thou wishest, another "like quantity. If thou wilt take the wheat thou "wilt do me an act of grace, only pray for me." And when the brother said, "We have only this amount of "money," the governor hearkened, and said, "Have no "care [Page 323] about this matter, for whensoever ye "are able to bring me the price of the wheat, do so, "at the rate of [thirteen] *ardebs* a *dinâr*, and in no "other place in Egypt wilt thou obtain more than "five *ardebs* a *dinâr*." And the brother journeyed by water to the monastery with great joy [bringing the wheat with him].

And when RABBÂ heard that a boat full of wheat was about to arrive, and the manner in which it had been

bought, he sent immediately to the boat, and said, "Ye shall not bring one grain of the wheat into the monastery, neither shall he who hath bought the wheat come into my presence until he hath returned it to its place; he who hath acted thus hath committed great wickedness. And not only this hath he done, but he hath also taken wheat to the value of one hundred *darics* more than [the hundred *dinârs* which I gave him], and I never ordered him to do this; but in carrying out his own desires, he wished to have a superabundance, and having become inflamed by love of gain, he hath brought us into subjection, and laid us under condemnation. And moreover, he did not approach the generosity of the seller of the wheat satisfactorily, for he acted in a greedy manner, and he hath brought more wheat than he needed, and on his own responsibility he undertook to pay back that which we could never return. And not this only, for supposing that from some human cause an accident had happened, and the boat had sunk in the river, what could we have done [to make good the loss]? Should we not all have become slaves? Therefore let him sell all the wheat which he hath brought to the laity who are in this district at the rate at which he hath taken it from him that entrusted it to him, that is to say, at thirteen *ardebs* a *dinâr*, and after he hath sold them, let him take the gold and carry it to him that gave him credit. And with the one hundred *dinârs* which are mine, let him buy wheat at the rate at which it is sold everywhere and bring it [to me]." And the brother did even as RABBÂ said unto him, and he brought the wheat which he bought at a rate of five and a half *ardebs* a *dinâr*. And from that time RABBÂ did not allow that [Page 324] brother to go outside the monastery on business for the brethren, and having made him to remain inside he appointed other brethren to render service of the kind.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XII.

OF HOW WHEN THE WORK OF THE BRETHREN WAS SOLD
RABBÂ WAS UNWILLING EVEN THAT THEY SHOULD ACCEPT
THE FULL PRICE OF THE SAME.

And that same brother [who hath been mentioned above] took away from the shoemaker to sell a large number of shoes (*or*, sandals) and other kinds of objects, and having received as their price a larger sum of money than the shoemaker had mentioned brought to him the *oboli*; and when the shoemaker had received the *oboli*, he reckoned up the price of the leather, and of the labour of his hands, and the value of the work of the days wherein he had made the various kinds of [leather] objects, and found that it amounted to fifty *oboli*, whilst the money [which he had received] was three times that amount. Then straightway the shoemaker went to RABBÂ, and said unto him, "Verily, O "father, this brother will never prosper by such acts "as these, for he still hath in him a worldly mind." And when RABBÂ said, "What is this matter in which "he hath behaved so badly?" the shoemaker answered and said, "I gave him sandals and other kinds of "[leather] things to sell, and I said unto him, 'Their "'prices are so much,' but he hath sold them for a "great deal more, and he hath brought unto me a price "which is three times as large as that which I men- "tioned to him." When RABBÂ had heard these things, he called the brother, and said unto him, "Why hast "thou done thus?" And the brother said unto him, "Father, I told to the people who bought the "sandals and the other things the price which this "shoemaker told me to take, but they said to me, "'Brother, if these things had been stolen they would "be worth a far higher price than what thou askest;" "and I, feeling ashamed, said to them, 'They have not

"been stolen, and I have been commanded to sell
 "them at the price which I have named; but whatso-
 "ever ye wish to give [me] for them, that give;" and
 "they gave me what it pleased [Page 325] them to
 "give me, and I never counted the oboli which were
 "given unto me by them." When RABBÂ had heard
 [these things], he said, "Thou hast sinned greatly in
 "loving excess, but run quickly, and give back the excess
 "in price to those who gave it to thee, and come, and
 "repent because of this offence, and sit in the monastery,
 "and perform the work of thy hands, for it is not good
 "that thou, O my son, shouldst do again work of this
 "kind;" and the brother did even as the old man had
 said unto him. Then RABBÂ appointed the holy man
 ZAKKAI, a good man, who overcame all the praises of
 the children of men by the manifestation of good
 deeds, and he administered all the affairs of the mo-
 nastery.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XIII.

OF A CERTAIN ASCETIC BROTHER WHO WAS IN THE
 MONASTERY, AND WHO DESIRED A CROWN OF MARTYRDOM
 UNSEASONABLY.

And there was also [there] among those who
 were very famous a certain brother, who cultivated
 the ascetic life by himself, and when he heard of
 the divine rule of our holy father PACHOMIUS he
 entreated him to receive him in the monastery; and
 when RABBÂ had received him, and he had passed a
 little [time] with the brethren, he desired greatly to
 bear witness (*i. e.*, to become a martyr), although the
 world was in a state of peace, and the Church was
 flourishing, and was, by the Grace of God, at peace,
 and the blessed CONSTANTINE, who had put on Christ,
 was at that time reigning. And this brother was con-

tinually entreating the blessed man PACHOMIUS, and saying, "Pray for me, O father, that I may become a martyr;" but RABBÂ admonished him that he should not permit this thought to enter his mind again, and said unto him, "Brother, endure the strife of the monks mightily and blamelessly, and make straight thy life in the way which will please Christ, and thou shalt have companionship with the martyrs [Page 326] in heaven."

As, however, the brother made his desire for this thing stronger each day, and he was wearying the holy man therewith, RABBÂ, wishing to drive away this kind of desire from him, said unto him, "I will pray [for thee], but if thou seekest for this thing thou wilt be vanquished. And put armour on thy soul, lest, when the hour cometh wherein thou hast to bear witness, thou shalt deny Christ. Verily thou wilt certainly commit sin, because of thine own will thou drawest nigh unto temptation, although our Lord Jesus commanded us, saying, 'Pray that ye fall not into temptation.'"¹ And having said these things unto him, he admonished him to take good heed unto himself, and not to meditate upon martyrdom.

And it came to pass that two years later, certain of the brethren were sent by RABBÂ to a village which was above them² to collect reeds [to make] mats for the monastery; now this village was nigh unto the barbarians who are called "BLEMMEYES." And whilst the brethren were there, and were on an island where there were large numbers of reeds, the blessed man PACHOMIUS sent the brother who was wishing to suffer martyrdom to carry a little money to them for their expenses, and he commanded him to take good heed to himself. And he said unto him, "The words which

¹ St. Matthew XXVI. 41; St. Mark XIV. 38; St. Luke XXII. 40, 46.

² *I. e.*, a village further to the south.

"are written, 'Behold, now is the acceptable' time, behold, now is the day of redemption," have a mystical "signification [for thee], and ye shall not commit an offence against any man, so that there may be no blemish in our ministration;" so the brother took an ass to carry the money and departed to the brethren.

Now when he had arrived at the place which is opposite the desert, the barbarians came down [to the river] to draw water, and they came upon the brother, and made him to come down from off the ass, and they bound his hands, and took the ass and that which was thereon, and they led him up to a neighbouring mountain where there were other barbarians. Now when the barbarians saw that he came with an ass, they began to make a mock of him, and to say, "O monk, come and worship our gods," and they slew some beasts and poured out libations to their gods, [Page 327] and they brought the monk and urged the monk to pour out libations with them. And when he did not want to do this, they rose up in wrath, and came towards him with their drawn swords in their hands in a threatening manner, and said, "If he be unwilling to sacrifice to our gods and to pour out libations to them we will kill him." Then seeing the drawn swords, and the savage disposition of the people, straightway the brother took wine and poured out a libation to their gods, and because he was afraid of dying the death of the body, he slew his immortal soul by denying God, the Lord of all; now when he had done these things the BLEMMYES sent him away.

Then having descended from the mountain, when he had come to himself he knew his iniquity, that is to say, the wickedness which he had committed, and he rent his garments, and having beaten himself upon his face severely he came to the monastery; and the blessed man knew what had happened to him, and he went

¹ 2 Corinthians VI. 2.

forth to meet him in sore affliction. And when the brother saw that he was coming to him, he threw himself on his face upon the ground, and shedding tears, cried out and said, "I have sinned against God "and against thee, O father, and I would neither listen "to thy promise nor to thine admonition, and had I "but hearkened unto thee I should not have had to "bear what I have suffered." And having heard these words RABBÂ said unto him, "Rise up, O wretched "man, thou hast snatched thyself away from the good "things which were awaiting thee, for in very truth "there was laid up for thee a crown which thou hast "cast away from thee; thou wast ready to be reckoned "with the holy martyrs, but thou hast cut thyself off "from their blessed companionship. Our Lord Jesus "Christ was near with His holy angels, and He wished "to lay the crown upon thy head. Through thy momen- "tary turning back thou hast refused [*or*, denied] this, "and in being afraid of that death which thou wast "about to endure, a death which thou didst not seek, "thou hast fallen away from God and destroyed thine "everlasting life. Where are the words which [thou "didst speak] before this [happened]? [Page 328] "Where is thy desire [for martyrdom]?" And the brother said, "I have sinned in all these [respects], O "father, and I am no longer able to lift up my face "to heaven. I am lost, O father, I have no position "wherefrom I may contemplate what I shall do, O father; "I never expected that the matter would happen thus."

Then having said these words with tears RABBÂ spake unto him, saying, "Thou, O wretched man, hast "made thyself altogether an alien to the Lord, but the "Lord is good, and He never keepeth His anger for a "testimony, for He is a lover of mercy, and He is "able to sink our sins in the depths of the sea. As "far as are the heavens from the earth so far hath "He put away our iniquity and sins. For He desireth "not the death of the sinner, but his repentance, and

"He wisheth not that a man who hath fallen should remain in his fallen condition, but that he should rise up; and He desireth not that he who hath turned back should keep afar off from Him but that he should return quickly to Him. Therefore despair not, for there is still a hope of [thy] redemption. For it is said, 'If thou cuttest down a tree it shall renew itself.'"¹ If then thou wishest to obey me in everything which I shall say unto thee, thou shalt obtain forgiveness from God." And with tears the brother said, "From this time forward I will obey thee in everything, O father." Then RABBÂ commanded him to depart and to seclude himself in a cell alone, and never to hold converse with any man until death, and to eat one meal daily, of bread and salt only, and to drink water only for the whole period of his life, and to plait two palm leaf mats daily, and to keep vigil as long as possible, and never to cease from crying. So that brother departed, even as the blessed man had commanded him, and he carried out everything which he had told him to do. And he held converse with no man except RABBÂ, and THEODORE, and with a [Page 329] few of the other great sages; and he passed ten years in striving in this manner, and died in the grace of the Lord, and RABBÂ bore witness nobly concerning his tranquil state.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE PHANTOM WHICH THEY SAW BY NIGHT WHEN THEY WERE GOING THROUGH THE MONASTERY.

And it came to pass once when RABBÂ, and THEODORE whom he loved, were walking through the monas-

¹ Job xiv. 7.

tery by night, that they saw suddenly a great phantom, which was full of the greatest deceit; now that which appeared was in the form of a woman, and its beauty was of so indescribable a character that no man was able to tell the beauty, or the form, or the appearance, which belonged to that phantom, and even THEODORE, who looked at that phantom, was exceedingly perturbed, and his face changed colour. And when the blessed man saw that he was afraid, he said unto him, "Be of good cheer in the Lord, O THEODORE, and fear not," and the holy man, having said these things unto him, commanded him to pray with him, that the phantom which was striking wonder into them might be driven away. And as they were praying the phantom came nearer and nearer and took a solid form, and when it, and the company of devils which ran before it, drew nigh, for their prayer did not drive it back, it came forward and said unto them, "Why do ye labour in vain? Ye are unable at this present to do anything whatsoever against me, for I have received power from God, Who sustaineth the universe, to tempt whomsoever I please; and I have abundance of time in which to do this, for this I have asked from God." Then PACHOMIUS asked her, saying, "Whence comest thou? And who art thou? And whom dost thou wish to tempt?" And the phantom answered and said, "I am the daughter of the Calumniator, "[Page 330] whose great power cannot¹ be described, and unto me the whole company of the devils is subject. It was I who brought down the holy stars to the earth, and it was I who snatched Judas from the Apostolic Power, I have received authority [or, power] to make war against thee, O PACHOMIUS, for I am not able to endure the reproach of the devils, and no man hath made me as weak as thou. Thou hast made me to be trampled under foot by youths,

¹ Read *ἡ δὲ δύναμις αὐτῆς*.

"and by old men, and by young men, and thou hast gathered together against me a congregation such as thou hast, and hast set for them [as] a wall which shall never fall the fear of God, so that my ministers are not able to approach with boldness and freedom unto any one of you.

"Now all these things have happened unto me because of the Word of God Who was made man, for it is He Who hath given you power to trample upon all our might, and to hold us in derision." And when the holy man PACHOMIUS asked her, "Hast thou come to tempt me alone according to what thou sayest?" she said unto him, "I have come to tempt thee, and all those who are like thee." PACHOMIUS said unto her, "So then thou wilt tempt THEODORE also?" and she said, "I have received power over thee, and over THEODORE, but I am never able to come nigh unto thee." And when PACHOMIUS had said unto her, "Why?" she said unto them, "If I were to make war with you [two], you would have an occasion for help and not for injury, and especially would it be so in thy case, O PACHOMIUS, who with the eyes of thy body art worthy to be a spectator of the glory of God; but ye will not live for ever for those for whom at present ye make yourselves a wall through your prayers, and whom ye help; and the time will come after your death when I shall have dominion over those whom thou now protectest against me, for ye have made me to be trodden under foot by this multitude of monks."

[Page 331] Then RABBÂ said unto her, "How knowest thou that those who shall come after us will not serve the Lord more truly than do we, and that they will not be able to confirm and strengthen those who come after us in the fear of God more than do we?" And the phantom said unto him, "I do know this." And RABBÂ said unto her, "Thou liest by thy wicked head, because thou hast no knowledge what-

"soever beforehand of the things which are going to take place, for unto God alone belongeth fore-knowledge; thou art then the chief of falsehood." And the phantom answered and said unto him, "True, I have no knowledge whatsoever of anything by [the faculty] of fore-knowledge, even as thou sayest, for it belongeth to God alone to know what is going to happen beforehand, but I told thee that I had knowledge because [I judged] by analogy." And the blessed man said unto her, "How canst thou judge by analogy?" And she said unto him, "By the things which have already taken place I am able to judge of what will take place in the future." Then RABBÂ said unto her, "How?" and she said unto him, "I know that the beginning of every matter is in love and knowledge, and it receiveth confirmation from the things which are provided, and especially through the divine care and the calling of heaven, and by the Will of God, it becometh confirmed by wonderful things and signs, and it is confirmed also by various powers which are exercised therein; but when that beginning waxeth old and becometh gray, it falleth away from growth, and when growth hath fallen away [*i. e.*, ceased], it perisheth of old age, or languisheth through sickness, or decayeth through neglect."

And afterwards RABBÂ asked her, saying, "Why hast thou come, according as thou sayest, to tempt these great [saints] and not all the brethren? If it be as thou sayest, the destruction of souls resteth with thee to work, and thou surpassest in power all the devils, and thou must have all this power so that thou mightest be able [Page 332] to strive against men like these." And the phantom answered and said unto him, "I have already told thee that when the strength of the Sustainer of creation, the Redeemer Christ, appeared upon the earth, we were brought so low that, like a sparrow, we were mocked and laughed at by men such as these who are clothed with the


"Spirit, and who seek to learn the Lord; but although
"we have become feeble through Him, we do not cease
"to work as much as we possibly can [against you],
"and we never cease from opposing you by every
"means in our power. And we sow the seed of our
"wickedness near the soul of him that striveth with
"us, and this we do especially when we see that he
"receiveth [it], and if we see that he really permitteth
"us to embrace him, then do we inflame him with
"fierce lusts, and we encompass him like mighty ones
"and cruel devils, whom it is exceedingly difficult to
"defeat. But if he is not willing to receive our seed,
"and will not, through his faith in God, and the watch-
"fulness of his mind, accept with pleasure the things
"which are offered unto him by us, we dissolve away
"even as smoke is dissipated in the air. This is the
"reason why I am not permitted to wage war with all
"the monks, and I do not do so because all possess
"not perfection. For if it were permitted to me to
"wage war against them all, I should be enabled to
"lead astray many of those who lean upon thee."

And the blessed man said unto her, "Fie upon
"your wickedness which never sleepeth! Ye will never
"cease to stir yourselves up against the race of the
"children of men until the divine and unpolluted grace
"of God descendeth from heaven and destroyeth you."
Then, having said these things, RABBÂ commanded the
phantom to depart unto the place whither it had been
commanded to go, and never again to approach with
her feet his monastery. And when the morning was
come, he cried out unto all the great brethren, and
related unto them all the things which he had seen
and heard from the destroying devils, and unto the
other brethren who were living in the [Page 333] other
great monasteries he sent letters, and informed them,
in the fear of God, by means of these concerning the
vision [which he had seen].

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XV.

OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES WHICH PACHOMIUS RECEIVED.

And it came to pass that, when the blessed PACHOMIUS was visiting the brethren in their cells, and was correcting the thoughts of each one of them, he was obliged to visit a certain Roman, who was a nobleman of high rank, and who knew the Greek language very well. Now therefore, having come to this great man, so that he might exhort him with words which would be beneficial to him, and might learn the motions of his heart, the blessed man spake unto him in the Egyptian tongue, but the brother did not know what the blessed man said. And because the blessed man did not know how to speak Greek, RABBÂ was obliged to call some brother who would be able to interpret to each of them the things which were said by the other. Now when the brother came to interpret the Greek did not wish to declare to RABBÂ through others the defects of his heart,¹ and he spoke unto him thus:—"After God, I wish thee, and thee alone, to know the wickednesses of my heart, and I do not desire to declare them unto thee through others, for I do not wish that any man except thee should hear them." And when RABBÂ heard these words he commanded the brother who had come to interpret to depart, and because RABBÂ was unable to speak to the Greek brother the words which he wished to say to him about help and redemption, for he knew nothing whatsoever of the Greek language, he made a sign to him with his hand to remain until he came [back] to him. Then RABBÂ left him, and went to pray by himself, and he stretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed to God, saying, "O Lord, Thou Mighty

¹ Read .

"One, Who sustainest the universe, if I am not able
"[Page 334] to benefit the children of men whom Thou
"dost send unto me from the ends of the earth, be-
"cause I am not acquainted with their languages, what
"need is there for them to come? But if Thou wishest
"them to be saved here through me, give me, O Lord,
"Thou Star of all creation, the power to know their
"languages so that I may be able to set their souls in
"the straight way." And when he had prayed for more
than three hours and had entreated God to grant him
this knowledge, suddenly there was sent from heaven
into his right hand something which was like unto a
letter written on paper, and when he had read it, he
learned immediately how to speak all tongues, and he
sent up praise to the Father, and to the Son, and to
the Holy Ghost. And he came with great joy to that
brother, and began to talk to him both Greek and
Latin with such fluency that when the brother heard
him, he saith that RABBĀ's skill in speaking [Greek]
surpassed that of all the learned men [of the day].
Then RABBĀ corrected him, as was right, and appointed
to him the penance which was suitable to his defects,
and he committed him to the Lord, and went forth
from him.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XV.

OF A CERTAIN HOLY MAN WHOSE NAME WAS YĀWNĀN,
WHO WAS THE GARDENER OF ONE OF THE MONASTERIES,
AND OF THE WONDERFUL THING WHICH RABBĀ PACHOMIUS
WROUGHT IN HIS MONASTERY.

And it came to pass on the morrow that the blessed
man departed to visit the other monasteries, and he
arrived at the monastery which is called "DEMESKENY-
ĀNÔS," and entered therein; now there was in that
monastery a fine, large fig tree, which one of the

youths was in the habit of climbing up secretly, and he plucked the fruit thereof and ate it. And when RABBĀ had gone in, and had drawn nigh that fig tree, he saw an unclean spirit sitting in it, and he knew straightway that it was the devil of the love of the belly; and the holy man, knowing that it was he who led astray [Page 335] the youths, called to the gardener, and said unto him, "Brother, cut down this fig tree, "for it is a stumblingblock to those who possess not "a well established mind, and it is not a seemly thing "for this tree to be in the middle of the monastery." Now when the gardener, who was called YĀWNĀN, heard these words, he was sorely grieved, for he had passed eighty-five years in the monastery, and he had lived therein a pure and honourable life, and by himself he had cared for all the fruit [trees] therein, and he had planted all the trees that were in the monastery [garden]. Now, until the day of his death he never tasted any of the fruit whatsoever, though all the brethren, and the strangers, and those who dwelt round about them used to eat their fill in the fruit season. And this brother dressed in this fashion: he joined three skins [of goats] together to form a covering for his body, and these were sufficient [clothing] for him; he did not lay down for himself one kind of bed in the winter season, and another in the time of summer. What rest of the body was he knew not, because of the press of his labours, for, with a ready mind, he toiled always; he never ate any cooked food whatsoever, neither did he partake of lentiles, or of any other food [of the same kind], but he lived all the years of his life on plantains only, which he ate with vinegar. And the brethren used to declare positively about him, and say, that he did not even know where the hospital was, and that still less did he know what the sick folk ate.

And besides all these things, he never, so far as we have heard concerning him, lay upon his back

until the day of his death, but he worked all day long in the garden, and towards sunset he used to take his food and go into his cell, and sitting upon a chair which he had in the midst thereof, he would plait ropes until [the time for the recital of] the service of the night [Page 336], and in this way it might happen that he was able to snatch a little sleep through the absolute need of his corporeal nature, and that he slept whilst he was plaiting the ropes which were in his hands. Now he did not plait these ropes by the light of a lamp, but whilst he was sitting in darkness and reciting the Scriptures. And he had only one garment of linen, which he used to put on when he was about to partake of the Holy and Divine Mysteries of Christ, and immediately [he had done this] he would take it off and lay it aside, so that he might keep it clean, and it lasted him for eighty-five years. And that blessed old man performed very many other works which deserve praise, but we have not set them down in the book of this history, lest our discourse might become either too long or too full for those faithful ones who believe, and we should cause those who read it to become weary.

Now we found out concerning this man of whom we have written these things when he was dead, and he died in an unusual manner, that is to say, he was sitting upon a chair and plaiting ropes, according to his custom, and the ropes were found in his hands when he was dead. And this blessed man did not die suddenly, and so lose any portion of his healthy happiness,¹ but he fell ill, like all other men, and he would not be persuaded to go into the hospital, because he did not wish to be ministered to by any man, as are other sick folk; and he did not want to eat any of the meat which the brethren who were sick were wont

¹ Literally, "that there might not be hidden any portion of his healthy pleasures."

to eat. And he would not lie upon his back even when he was sick, and he would not permit any one to place a cushion for him when he was sitting up, or anything whatsoever which was a little soft, and was able to afford him relief. And no man was standing by him when he died, and he went to his rest grasping his rope work [in his hands]. It was, moreover, a wonderful thing [Page 337] to hear how they buried him; for it was impossible to stretch out his legs, because they had become [stiff] like logs of wood, and it was impossible to make one hand lie by the side of his body. It was impossible to strip off him the skin garment wherewith he was clothed, and we were therefore obliged to roll him up in cloth like a bundle and to bury him in that state.

To this man came the blessed PACHOMIUS, and told him to cut down this fig tree, and when YÂWNÂN heard this, he said unto RABBÂ, "Nay, O father, for we are "accustomed to gather a large crop of fruit from this "fig tree for the brethren;" now although RABBÂ was greatly grieved because of this matter, he did not wish to urge the old gardener any further, and he was the more grieved because he knew that YÂWNÂN lived a great and marvellous life, and that he was held to be wonderful by many, and by great and small alike. And it came to pass on the day following that the fig-tree was found to have become withered so completely that not one soft leaf or fruit was found upon it. Now when the blessed man saw these things, he was greatly grieved, not for the sake of the fig tree, but because of his own disobedience, when RABBÂ told him to cut down the fig tree, and he did not act according to his word.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XVI.

OF HOW ABBÂ PACHOMIUS WOULD NOT KEEP BEAUTIFUL BUILDINGS.

The blessed man PACHOMIUS built an oratory in his monastery, and he made pillars [for it], and covered the faces thereof with tiles, and he furnished it beautifully, and he was exceedingly pleased with the work because he had built it well; and when he had come to himself he declared, through the agency of Satan, that the beauty of the oratory was a thing which would compel a man to admire it, and that the building thereof would be praised. Then suddenly he rose up, and took ropes, and fastened them round the pillars, and he made a prayer within himself, and commanded the brethren to help him, and they bowed their bodies, and the pillars and the whole construction fell [to the ground]; and he said to the brethren, [Page 338] "Take heed lest ye strive to ornament the work of your hands overmuch, and take ye the greatest possible care that the grace of God and His gift may be in the work of each one of you, so that the mind may not stumble towards the praises of cunning wickedness, and the Calumniator may not obtain [his] prey."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XVII.

OF HOW WHEN ON A CERTAIN OCCASION THE HERETICS CAME TO HIM HE DID NOT YIELD TO THEM, AND OF HOW HE LET THEM RECEIVE AN EXPERIENCE OF HIM BY THE SIGN WHICH THEY ASKED AT HIS HAND.

And it came to pass on a certain occasion that certain heretical monks, who were in the habit of

wearing garments made of hair, and who had heard concerning the blessed PACHOMIUS, rose up and came to his monastery; and they said unto certain monks of RABBÂ, "Our father hath sent us to your RABBÂ "with a message, saying, 'If thou art in truth a man "of God, and if thou art confident that God will "hearken unto you, come hither, and let us walk "together across the river on our feet, so that every "man may know which of us hath more freedom of "speech before God than the other.'" And when the brethren informed RABBÂ concerning these things, he was exceedingly angry with them, and said unto them, "Why did ye undertake to listen to those who have "said these things? Know ye not that requests of this "kind are things which are foreign to God, and are "wholly alien to our rule? And besides this, they are "not even things which are thought well of by men "who live in the world. For what law of God teacheth "us to do these things? And moreover, our Redeemer "commandeth us to the contrary in the Holy Gospel, "saying,¹ 'Let not thy left hand know what thy right "hand doeth.' For thou [thinkest] of something which "is more wretched than the want of mind [i. e., foolish- "ness] in imagining that I should give up mourning "for my sins, [or, cease to think] how I may flee from "everlasting punishment, or that, even if I were a boy "in my thoughts I could ever come to [make] such a "demand as that."

And the brethren answered and said unto him, "How is it then that this man, who is a heretic and "alien to God [Page 339] should be so bold as to call "upon thee to do this [thing]?" And RABBÂ answered and said unto them, "He is able to pass over the "river as one who travelleth over dry land through "the neglect of God, and the Calumniator helpeth "him, so that his wicked heresy may not be brought

¹ St. Matthew VI. 3.

“to nought, and so that the faith of those who have
 “gone astray may be more finally established by means
 “of works of audacity which he performeth through him.
 “Get ye out then, and say unto those who have brought
 “such a message as this. Thus saith the man of God,
 “PACHOMIUS, I devote all my strivings, and all my
 “anxious care, not that I may pass over the river by
 “walking on the waters thereof, but in trying to flee
 “from the judgment of God, and to escape, by the
 “might of the Lord, from such Satanic wiles as these.”
 Then having said these things to the brethren he
 strictly forbade them to think greatly of their integrity,
 and to lust after the sight [of him walking across
 the river on the water] and to go with those who
 pry into such matters as these; [and he said], “We
 “must not voluntarily follow after such matters as these,
 “and we must not put God to the test by such ques-
 “tions, for concerning the knowledge of events before
 “they happen He hath commanded us by His Holy
 “Scriptures,” saying, ‘Thou shalt not tempt the Lord
 “thy God, saith the Lord’.”

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE QUESTION WHICH A CERTAIN BROTHER BROUGHT TO
 HIM, AND ITS ANSWER.

RABBÂ was on one occasion asked by a certain
 brother, who said, “Why is it that, before the coming
 “of that devil who vexeth¹ us, we possess the under-
 “standing of the mind in a healthy state, and are able
 “to make use of philosophy for the sake of self-denial,
 “and humility, and the other virtues, but that when it

¹ Deuteronomy VI. 16.

² Read **جفد**.

"cometh to us to make manifest in very deed the
"virtues of philosophy, that is to say, longsuffering in
"the hour of wrath, and the keeping of the temper in
"the season of anger, and a frame of mind from which
"vain glory is absent, and when there are praises
"[ascribed to us], and many other things which are
"akin thereto, the mind [*or*, understanding] languisheth
"and becometh destroyed?"

And RABBÀ answered and said unto him, "It is
"because [Page 340] we are not perfectly skilled in
"the performance [of these things], and because we are
"not so thoroughly acquainted with all the mind and
"vague thoughts of the devils that we are able, through
"the power of the sight of the soul, to recognize in
"quiet contemplation the advent of him who causeth
"us vexation, and who watcheth that he may be able
"to gather together the outpouring of such like thoughts.
"Therefore, every day and every hour it is the por-
"tion of the soul to watch, and we must pour out
"upon it, like oil, the fear of God, that is to say, the
"efficacious performance of work, and the lamp which
"will enable us to see the things which are falling
"upon us in the healing of the mind. Whosoever
"then will not be strenuous [will come] to anger, and
"wrath, and ill-temper, and to each of the passions
"which lead us on to wickedness. And the soul will
"see, and will depart to that incorporeal country,
"and it will make the mind to hold in contempt the
"things which are wrought by the devils, and will
"compel it to trample under foot serpents and scor-
"pions, and all the power of the Enemy."

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XIX.

OF HOW UNCLEAN AND CONTEMPTIBLE IN THE SIGHT OF RABBÂ WAS THE MAN WHO TOILED WITH THE LABOUR OF HIS HANDS FOR THE SAKE OF VAIN GLORY.

On one occasion when RABBÂ was sitting with a number of the other great brethren in a certain place in the monastery, [he was told that] one of the monks in the monastery used to make two mats of plaited palm leaves daily, and that day he placed them in front of his cell, opposite the place where RABBÂ was then sitting with the brethren. Now he did this because he was [unduly] exalted with the thought of vain glory, and he believed that he would be praised for such assiduity, because the rule [of the fathers] was that each monk should make one mat daily. And RABBÂ perceived that the monk did this for the purpose of making a display, and he understood the intention which was stirring in the man and moving him; and he sighed heavily and said unto the brethren who were sitting with him, "See ye this man who toileth [Page 341] from morning to evening? He hath "endowed Satan with all his labour, and hath left "nothing whatsoever of his work for the comfort of "his own soul. He hath toiled overmuch for the praise "of the children of men, and he hath not worn out "his body with all this work for the sake of God, and "his soul is empty of work through the pleasure of "him that doeth it, for he hath loved the praise of "men more than the praise of God." Then he called that brother, and rebuked him, and charged him to stand up behind the brethren when they were praying, and to hold the two mats, and to say to them, "O "my brethren, I beseech you to pray for my degraded "soul, in order that through your prayers God may "shew abundant mercy to it, for I have held these

“mats in greater honour than His kingdom.” And he also commanded that the man should stand up with the mats among the brethren when they were sitting at meat until they rose up from the table; and he commanded likewise that after this he should be confined to his cell for a period of five months, and should make two mats daily, and should eat bread and salt only, and that no man should visit him.

THE MONKS OF TABENNA—CHAPTER XX.

OF A CERTAIN MONK WHO BELONGED TO THE MONASTERY.

Now before we bring this history to a close we are obliged to mention, in addition to those of whom we have already spoken, another holy monk who was thoroughly trained in the spiritual excellence of the brethren, so that we may narrate a few of the things which were wrought by him for edification. This brother, of blessed memory, because he was afflicted in his body had a cell separate from the brethren; he lived upon bread and salt only, and he used to make one mat of plaited palm leaves each day, and it would happen often, when he was plaiting the ropes which were being used in making the mats, that his hands would become covered with blood, and they were so full of wounds caused by the reeds,¹ that [Page 342] the very mats which he was making were wetted with blood. But although he suffered from such a weakness as this, he never turned away from the congregation of the brethren, and he never lay down to sleep in the day time until the end of his life. And it was his habit every night before he lay down to sleep to repeat some portion of the Scriptures, and then he would go

¹ Read *ῥῑζα*, *i. e.*, reedy grass.

to sleep until they beat the board to summon the congregation to the service of the night.

Now on one occasion a certain brother went to him, and seeing that his hands were covered with blood through plaiting mats, he said unto him, "Why dost thou work and toil in this manner seeing that thou art so seriously ill? Thinkest thou that thou wouldst not obtain permission not to work and to be idle from God? God knoweth that thou art sick, and no man who hath thy complaint hath ever worked. We feed and take care of strangers and poor folk, and are we not in duty bound to minister unto thy wants, thou who art one of us, and art so holy a man, with all our soul and with the greatest joy and gladness?" And the monk said unto him, "It is impossible for me not to work," and the brother replied, "If it pleaseth thee to act thus, at least anoint thy hands with oil at eventide, for thou wilt not become as weary as thou art now, and thou wilt not become covered with blood." And the monk hearkened unto that brother, and anointed his hands with oil, even as he had told him to do, yet because they were tender they were grievously chafed, and cut, and torn by the sharp reeds (*or*, palm-grass). Then RABBÂ himself went to visit him in his cell, and he said unto him, "Thinkest thou, O THEODORE, that the oil had any beneficial effect upon thee? Who forced thee to work? Didst thou not place thy hope of being healed rather upon the operation of the oil than upon God? Peradventure was not thy God able to heal thee? Yet when He saw that thou wast ordering help for thyself He left thee [to fall into] this pain." Then the monk answered and said unto Rabbâ, "O father, I have sinned against God, and I give thanks [*or*, confess], and I entreat [Page 343] thee that God may forgive me this sin."

And, according to what those fathers who were with him said, he passed a full year in mourning for

this act of folly; and he ate once every two days. And at the beginning of the period wherein this man began to gain strength considerably, RABBÂ was in the habit of sending him to every monastery that he might be both the foundation and the type of all the brethren, because he endured the cruel weakness of that disease with such patience.

HERE ENDETH THE HISTORY OF THE FOLLOWERS OF
PACHOMIUS, WHICH IS CALLED IN GREEK, THE ES-
KÏTÎÔN OF THE FOLLOWERS OF PACHOMIUS.

FURTHER REMARKS BY THE WRITER PALLADIUS.*

Now therefore, though I must here add a few remarks about my beloved brother, who hath lived with me from my youth up until this day, I will make an end to my discourse in the haven of silence. It is indeed a very long time since I first knew this man, who is worthy of blessings; and I never knew him either to eat or to fast with desire; and, in my opinion, he overcame also the lust for possessions, and especially the passion for empty praise, and that which was his own was sufficient for him. He never arrayed himself in fine and costly apparel, and being made contemptible he received [acts of] grace, and in return for God's true mercy he continued thus even unto death. And this man accepted the temptation of devils a thousand times when they rose up against him, and at length one day a certain devil pressed him, and said unto him, "Agree thou with me for one day only, "and commit sin only once, and any woman that thou "shalt mention in this world I will bring unto thee."

* Bedjan's text, which omits the whole of the ASKËTIKON of Pachomius, begins again here (p. 326).

And on another occasion that devil [Page 344] strove with him for fourteen nights, even as he himself told me, and he used to kick him with his feet in the night-season, and say unto him, "Do not worship Christ, and I will never come near thee again." And he answered and said unto him, "It is for this very reason that I worship Him, and I confess Him and glorify Him ten thousand times because thou art vexed thereby, and thou reelest away and dost tremble before Him." In his coming in and going out he walked through one hundred and six cities (*or*, provinces) several times, and in the greater number of them he tarried for some time. By the grace and mercy of Christ he never knew the temptation of a woman, not even in a dream, except in [his] warfare [against fornication]. I know that he received food from an angel thrice:—One day he was in a parched desert, and had not upon him a morsel of bread, and he found three cakes of bread in his cloak. Another time, when he lacked [food], an angel appeared unto him in a vision and said unto him, "Go and take wheat and oil from such and such a man;" and thereupon there came to him the man from whom the angel had commanded him to take [wheat and oil], and said unto him, "Art thou such and such a man?" and he said unto him, "Yea, I am;" and the man said, "A certain One hath told thee to take thirty bushels of wheat from me, and twelve boxes of oil." Now over a matter of this kind, for such was his nature, he would boast. And I know that on very many occasions he used to weep over people who were in straits, and difficulties, and who were living in poverty, and he would give them whatsoever he possessed, with the exception of his body only, which he was unable to give. Now I have seen him very many times weeping over a man who had been caught in a snare, and had fallen into sin, but through his tears he made him to become penitent, and to repent of his sin. This brother swore unto me once, saying,

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"I made supplication unto God that I would never
"make myself pleasing to any man, especially the rich
"folk of the world, and the liars, lest [Page 345] they
"might give me whatsoever I had need of."

Now it is sufficient for me that I have been held
worthy to set down completely in writing, and to make
mention of the man who, by the grace of God, was
able to make perfect all these things. Behold the
summary [of the contents] of the book hath been written
above.

HERE ENDETH THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORIES
OF THE HOLY FATHERS, WHICH WERE COMPILED BY THE
BLESSED BISHOP PALLADIUS, [AND DEDICATED] TO LAUSUS
THE PREFECT. GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO
THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST, FOR EVER!
AMEN.

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p. 2.

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